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PRESIDENT WILSON has made no more extraordinary appointment than that of Mr. Bainbridge Colby as Secretary of State. Mr. Colby is a man of attractive personal appearance and a facile speaker, who has been on every side of the political fence. At times he has denounced Mr. Wilson, at others flattered him. Apparently, however, if what is wanted in a Secretary of State is a mind that will go along wholly with Mr. Wilson's, the President is ready to be satisfied with Mr. Colby. The new Secretary is entirely without experience in international law and matters diplomatic. His mind is, moreover, of the distinctly reactionary type which believes in meeting agitation with repression—this despite the fact that he was one of the original Progressives, still worships the memory of Theodore Roosevelt, and bitterly criticizes Great Britain for its treatment of Ireland. His is also the type of mind that would worship a Noske or a Clemenceau. The Washington correspondents have tried to explain this amazing appointment by suggesting that the President, in selecting Mr. Colby, is playing some deep political game. What this political game is, is difficult to discern. Not only official Washington, but also everybody in New York who has known Mr. Colby and watched his political career, has been stunned by the appointment; the wildest guesser would never have hit upon Mr. Colby as a possibility for the highest office in the gift of the President. When one thinks of the great men who have held the office—Jefferson, Marshall, Seward, and Fish, not to mention others—and then remembers that Mr. Colby as a lawyer is not even in the front rank of New York attorneys, questions as to Mr. Wilson's fitness to rule must again present themselves.

THE American notes of February 10 and February 24 on the Adriatic question, the texts of which have now been published, deserve a careful reading. Mr. Lansing's reply of February 10 to the proposals of Great Britain and France, as set forth in their memoranda of January 14 and January 23, is in substance a forcible and reasoned rejoinder. Wholly aside from the fact that the United States, which was a party to the Adriatic agreement of December 9, was not consulted in the framing of the subsequent agreement of radically different tenor, the United States rejects altogether, upon the broad ground of its merits, an arrangement which opens the way to a control by Italy of the foreign relations of Fiume, "establishes Italy in dominating military positions" close to the railway which runs northward from Fiume, and "partitions the Albanian people, against their vehement protests, among three different alien Powers." Such a settlement, Mr. Lansing declares, "both in the terms of its provisions and in the methods of its enforcement, constitutes a positive denial of the principles for which America entered the war." In a passage which is a stinging rebuke to Italy, the note further states that "this Government cannot accept a settlement the terms of which have been admitted to be unwise and unjust, but which it is proposed to grant to Italy in view of her persistent refusal to accept any wise and just solution." If the policy which the Allies have now adopted is to prevail, Mr. Wilson "must take under serious consideration" the withdrawal from the Senate of the peace treaty and the agreement with France, and leave the terms of the European settlement "to be independently established and enforced by the associated Governments." The note of February 24, which is signed by Mr. Polk, while less emphatic in tone and apparently leaving open a door to further negotiation, shows no abandonment of the position taken in the note of February 10.

STRONG as is the reasoning of the notes, however, it would be much more satisfying if it were not mixed with the inevitable sophistry. Mr. Wilson, in whose name, of course, the notes are written, objects to the disregard of ethnographic considerations in the proposed settlement of the Adriatic difficulties. When the Allies, in their memorandum of February 17, cite the inclusion of 3,000,000 Germans in Czecho-Slovakia and 3,000,000 Ruthenians in Poland "as ex-

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amples of necessary modifications of ethnographic frontiers," he can only reply that "there were cases when for sufficient geographical and economic reasons slight deflections of the ethnographical frontier were sanctioned by the Conference." The arguments against the Treaty of London are "the dissolution of Austria-Hungary, the secret character of the treaty, and its opposition to the principles unanimously accepted as the basis for making peace." Did not the Peace Conference, in which the United States was represented, dissolve Austria-Hungary on the merest shadow of principle? Was not the Treaty of Versailles hatched in secret? Were any principles unanimously accepted as a basis of peace? "It has never been the policy of either this Government or its associates to invoke the League of Nations as a guarantee that a bad settlement shall not become worse." True; yet it is precisely this argument that is being employed in this country, in Congress and out, in support of a speedy ratification of the treaty. It certainly seems like going to extremes for Mr. Wilson, after signing the Treaty of Versailles with all its enormities and reading a lecture to the Allies for violating its "principles," to threaten a withdrawal of the treaty from the Senate because in another controversy, to which the Treaty of Versailles does not relate, the Powers have gone back on an agreement without consulting him and have proposed a solution which he does not like. One wonders how such a step, if it were actually taken, would fare when it came to be reviewed by the League of Nations.

ONE cannot help wondering what effect Mr. Wilson's threat to the Powers will have upon the fate of the treaty in the Senate. The only reason that ratification is still an issue is that Mr. Wilson has insisted upon having the treaty approved as it stands, and has given no intimation of real willingness to accept any substantial modification; while a majority of the Senate, composed of both Democrats and Republicans, are staunchly opposed to the treaty without material amendments or reservations, even if with such changes they can eventually be led to approve the treaty at all. Now comes Mr. Wilson with the flat threat to withdraw the treaty altogether, and to let the Allies go on with the peace in any way they choose, if they do not accept his plan for settling the Adriatic quarrel. Does Mr. Wilson want the treaty now or not? Presumably he does, but evidently the treaty is not quite so necessary to world peace and the new moral order as he once thought it, nor is it quite so impossible to think of the United States making a separate peace with Germany as we have been told that it was. There would certainly seem to be no reason for going on with the Senate debate if Mr. Wilson is seriously thinking of withdrawing the treaty; and it would obviously be a very awkward thing for the Senate to ratify the treaty, and thus make its withdrawal impossible, while the Adriatic controversy is pending. May it not be that Mr. Wilson, in his desire to have his own way about Fiume, has upset the coach?

PRESIDENT WILSON signed the railway bill on February 28, thus enabling private operation to be resumed March 1 according to the plan worked out by Congress. The President's action was taken in spite of the demands of the Farmers' National Council, the American Society of Equity, and fourteen organizations of railway workers said to represent 2,000,000 employees, that he veto the measure. Resolutions presented to the President urged that the provision in the bill for a return of 5½ per cent. on the value of the various railway properties raised a question difficult to determine; and that the arrangement was class legislation in that it gave special advantages to holders of railway stock as against investors in other securities. Objection was also made to the Railroad Board of Appeals, which will have recommendatory powers in labor disputes, on the particular ground that the Board would do away with the right of collective bargaining, and also because of the provision which makes it impossible for the Board to recommend any wage increase without the concurrence of at least one of the representatives of the public on the Board. What the return of the railways means to the public remains to be seen. According to Mr. George P. Hampton, director of the Farmers' National Council, there must be an increase in freight rates of from 25 to 40 per cent., and that will result in an increase in the cost of living of about $200 a year per family.

IN a Washington dispatch to the New York *Evening Post*, Mr. Mark Sullivan writes that the railway legislation "is a sign of the strongly conservative state of public opinion in the United States at the present time." This is probably an accurate analysis, except that some people will be disposed to substitute for "conservative" the stronger word "reactionary." The present state of public opinion in America is due partly to the fact that we suffered less and learned less in the war than did Europe; partly to the natural continuation of despotic methods to which the war accustomed us at home; partly to great industrial prosperity which silences criticism and discontent; and partly to extensive insidious propaganda intended to prejudice the public against the new political and economic ideas with which the rest of the world is throbbing. But although the immediate temper of the United States is conservative, the *Evening Post's* correspondent goes too far when he says that "the agitation for Government ownership of railroads, and for other forms of nationalization of industry, which has gone on with accumulating force for nearly two decades, is now defeated." On the contrary, the present railway measure, dictated largely in the interest of investors, is scarcely more than a truce. It will give way to more democratic control as surely as the present state of public opinion will yield to one more consonant with old-fashioned American intelligence and common sense. It is worth noting, too, that at the very moment when the American railways return to private hands, the Grand Trunk and the Grand Trunk Pacific systems are passing into the hands of the Canadian Government, which thus acquires control of transcontinental and local lines aggregating 21,213 miles.

IN the industrial world signs multiply that the era of inflated prosperity and profits induced by the war has about run its course. The steel mills have not only been affected by the general let-up that followed the armistice, but they were particularly hard hit by the strike in their own industry and in the bituminous coal mines. The Lackawanna Steel Company, which earned $23.79 per share on its common stock in 1918, made only $1.02 per share last year, or about one-sixth of the 6 per cent. dividend that it has been paying. The Republic Iron and Steel Company earned only $1.43 of the $6 in dividends that it paid on its common stock in 1919, as contrasted with earnings of $22.22

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per share in 1918 and $51.88 in 1917. The porphyry copper companies likewise report reduced earnings for 1919. Cost of production mounted materially, and the Utah, Chino, Nevada Consolidated, and Ray Consolidated, after meeting dividend payments, report deficits for the twelve months. The industrial situation need not be a cause of discouragement, however. Unlike Europe, America is as rich as ever in men and material, but it must end the extravagance and inefficiency that now enmesh its business methods, and must meet the demands of the workers who produce its wealth for a more just distribution of that wealth and a more democratic control of the work itself.

CHARACTERIZATION of the French railway strike as revolutionary is more than a political catchword. The strike was in fact begun by a group of avowed revolutionary syndicalists, and was opposed at first by the reformist leaders of the French trade unions. The demand for "nationalization," which has come steadily to the front through the earlier negotiations and the strike itself, is, as French labor understands the word nationalization, a demand for democratization of the management of the roads. The demand is most loudly voiced on the lines already owned by the state. Before the war the Federation of Railway Workers, 100,000 strong, was one of the most conservative of French trade unions, and its present officers date from that period; but since the armistice its membership has grown to 275,000, and the rank and file, especially on the "P.L.M." (Paris, Lyons, and Mediterranean) and State lines, is very radical. A strong opposition has grown up to M. Bidegarray, the secretary, who is charged with responsibility for the failure in France of the international general strike planned for July 21 last, and in general with a too conciliatory policy; and it is this radical opposition—the same group which, in November, attempted a railway strike in protest against the transport of munitions from France to Denikin's armies—which inaugurated the present strike.

THE occasion for the present strike was the dismissal of an active union member from the service of the P.L.M., but this action came at a moment when passions were at the flaming point. Negotiations regarding wages had been in progress for nearly a year. The partial awards made early in February by an arbitral commission on which union officers sat were rejected by the men, who instructed their representatives to inform the Government and the companies that unless their demands were granted by February 10, they would "envisage action which might go so far as cessation of work." Their demands were not met, but negotiations continued. The dismissal of one Campanaud by the P.L.M. precipitated the strike on that line; the men of the State lines struck in sympathy; individuals walked out spontaneously on the other lines; and last Saturday the officers of the Federation were forced to issue the general strike order. By this action the more conservative national officers assumed charge of the strike. The General Confederation of Labor, at first hostile, has, like Mr. Gompers in the American steel strike, announced a tardy and lukewarm approval. The Government promptly replied to the walk-out by ordering mobilization of the strikers of military age, and has arrested six of the radical leaders. There is no indication that masses of the strikers have responded to the mobilization order, but the walk-out is far from complete. The strike leaders have offered to guarantee food and coal transportation for the cities if committees of workers may control distribution, but the Government has not replied to their offer and the food shortage may become acute.

"THE food in Austria today, together with all supplies it has been possible to purchase that are arriving, will feed the people to about March 15th"—thus cables Mr. F. I. Kent, Vice-President of the Bankers Trust Company, who has been observing food conditions in Europe for seven months. Beyond that date the future of Austria is gloomy indeed. Yet there are certain food supplies which could be rushed to Austria if only Congress would act immediately. Every day's delay is crucial, and delay affects Germany quite as much as Austria. The Quaker Mission in Berlin cables that the greatest food crisis in Germany will be in March and April, and that the shortage of essential foodstuffs increases daily. So far as the German children are concerned, Mr. Hoover, in a letter to the American Relief Committee for German Children, declares that great numbers of German children have reached "a condition of undernourishment where only charity from the outside will avail." The Committee itself hears that there are a million little children facing starvation whose one hope is American charity. We again urge all our readers to do their utmost to help to tide over these innocent victims of the war until the next harvest, by sending checks to the order of James Speyer, Treasurer, 24 Pine Street, New York city. Switzerland, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries are doing everything that they can, and the German cities are sharing some of their scanty rations with the Austrians; but in the last analysis it depends upon American philanthropy whether we shall or shall not witness a frightful tragedy in Central Europe during the next three months.

WE print elsewhere in this issue of *The Nation* additional proof of the deliberate anti-Red propaganda which is being carried on by the Attorney General of the United States. We consider such action on his part entirely reprehensible, because we are opposed to having Federal Departments engage in propaganda on their own account without authority of Congress, and to the use to that end of funds which were not specifically appropriated for such purpose. We object to having Mr. Palmer engage in this propaganda because his function, as defined by law, is the enforcement of Federal laws and the prosecution of persons who violate them, not the creation or molding of public opinion in some particular direction. The action of the Attorney General in this case is the more censurable because he is also a potential candidate for the Presidency. We are no more in love with anarchist doctrines or communist theories than is Mr. Palmer. We merely submit that the Attorney General is himself lawless in proceeding as he has done. We should take the same position if the Postmaster General were discovered to be using the taxpayers' money in a propaganda through the Western Newspaper Union, or any other newspaper agency, to convince the American people that they ought to take over the telephones and telegraphs. We should protest in the same way if we found the War Department going beyond its legitimate sphere and organizing a propaganda for universal military service. It is precisely this kind of lawlessness in government officials, this disregard for the limitations of the laws which they are sworn to uphold, that is more dangerous to the country than almost anything else that is happening.

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Isolation and World Recovery

EVER since Secretary Glass announced his opposition to further American loans to European countries, an influential section of the European press has been indulging in criticisms and recriminations about American isolation. French journals in particular have been outspoken in denouncing the alleged determination of the United States to withdraw from any further connection with European affairs, and to leave suffering Europe to its fate. Despite the fact that the United States has loaned to various European governments for war purposes nearly $10,000,000,000, that it has deferred the payment of interest on these loans and has manifested no anxiety about the repayment of the principal, and that it is contributing very large sums through private agencies for the relief of starvation, distress, and disease in regions which war and peace have left prostrate, European newspapers and even European public men have not hesitated to say that America was repudiating its moral obligations. Having come out of the war, they declare, with small human losses and enormous financial profits, we now selfishly propose to wash our hands of Europe and its problems, lend our money only when we can see an assured return, and go back to our historical policy of unconcern.

What the critics have said shows, on the other hand, some curious contradictions. All of these spokesmen of chagrin are agreed that Europe wants American money, either in the direct form of loans or in the indirect form of credit for goods. Yet it does not want to see its railways or other utilities controlled by American capital, and it looks forward with apprehension to the possible influx of great quantities of American manufactured goods at prices with which the struggling producers of the Continent cannot compete. Europe also desires American participation in the peace settlement; but as to that, too, one perceives some difference of opinion. France, whose desperate purpose of crushing Germany has already become a menace to the peace of the world, hopes that the United States will ratify the Treaty of Versailles and join with the other Powers in enforcing it; but it views with fear and trembling the possibility that the United States may insist upon modifying the treaty provisions, and is not at all inclined to accept American interference with its imperialistic schemes in Syria. As for Mr. Wilson's demands in the Adriatic, it is not clear that they are really welcomed by anybody except by the Jugoslavs. Europe, in short, seems to want American assistance in making peace very much as it wants American money in reviving industry and trade and in straightening out exchange—in large quantities and at once, but on its own terms.

There would be ground for more concern over such criticism if it had a better ethical foundation, and if it did not veil, albeit thinly, a demand for American aid in doing not only some things which Europe at the moment is unable to do, but also some things which Europe, for various reasons, does not want to do. It is true, as Mr. Vanderlip pointed out in last week's issue of *The Nation*, that the war has upset many of the normal economic relations, and that as a result production has been lessened, distribution impeded, and credit and exchange demoralized. It is equally true that no one country, however wise or generous its action, can right the situation single-handed, but that all must help, the United States included. Yet some of the countries from which come the most acid complaints of American aloofness have themselves contributed directly to making the present situation worse than it might have been. Great Britain and France must bear their share of blame for robbing Germany of its coal fields and its merchant marine, imposing upon it financial burdens which never can be borne, reducing Austria to penury, sowing the seeds of racial strife in the Balkans, and depriving Western Europe of food supplies which Russia could have furnished.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that the American inclination to withhold governmental aid from Europe, of which European critics are just now speaking with irritation, is due to blind indifference as to what may happen to the rest of the world, or to any lack of sympathy with the sufferings of people who are in distress. The United States is not so ignorant as to believe that it can be either prosperous or safe with Europe in chaos, or with international trade on the point of collapse. The historical policy to which this country is at heart devoted, and to which, after its great and dramatic adventure beyond seas, it unquestionably is reverting, rests upon no such unsound basis. Europe would be wiser were it to perceive in the American attitude a logical development of the principle of self-determination. It is best for Europe, as it is best for America, that where inherent community of interest is lacking each should go its own way. The war, indeed, brought new relationships and obligations; for the moment, too, it seemed to bring nearer to realization the dream of a family of nations in which all the world might claim membership and feel the concern of a common responsibility. To the settlement of the peace which America had helped to win, and to the reorganization of international relations under the banner of a world league, the United States was prepared to give itself willingly and even with zeal. But when it appeared, as it did appear beyond peradventure, that the League of Nations which the Peace Conference had constructed was no proper league of nations at all, that the German and Austrian treaties were brutally unjust as well as demonstrably unworkable, and that America, once the fighting was over, was no longer welcomed by the Allies save as it was prepared to march with them in their political schemes, there was a revulsion of public opinion whose end, perhaps, is not yet.

Whatever the outcome of the treaty debate in the Senate, we are confident that the United States will not do what its European critics are demanding. It will not be a party any further to schemes for destroying Germany, or to alliances such as in the past have paved the way to war. It will not knowingly aid the imperialistic plans of Great Britain or France or Italy any more than it will aid those of Germany. There will be, we feel sure, no more American loans to European governments; nor will American bankers, we suspect, shoulder any more responsibility for world finance until Great Britain and France reopen the question of the German indemnity, end the intolerable Russian *impasse*, and set vigorously to work to produce more, spend less, cut down their army and navy programs, and pay their debts. Save where there are the hungry to be fed and the naked to be clothed, it is better for Europe that American help should be withheld until Europe shall have done what it can do to help itself.

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General Wood's Platform

INDUBITABLY the most active of the avowed Republican candidates for the Presidency is General Wood. Being a major-general in the regular army, in charge of a great military department, is apparently a sinecure; at least, General Wood has plenty of leisure to travel about the country in the taxpayers' time in order to deliver speeches, to enter debates, and to meet his millionaire backers. In connection with these activities, he has begun to outline pretty clearly the platform upon which he will stand—more clearly than has yet been done by Senator Harding, or Governor Lowden, or even Senator Johnson. Interest in General Wood's platform is the greater because his mentality and his attitude toward pending questions are much like those of his most formidable rivals, Senator Harding and Governor Lowden. All three are favorably considered by the big business world and by those who believe that America can return to doing "business as usual"—as if the country could go back to conditions as they were in 1914 or 1916. Both General Wood and Governor Lowden have the reputation of being good executives, but at the moment the sentiment of the "Old Guard" leans rather strongly to Senator Harding, because he is more of the McKinley type and would, therefore, be more responsive to the wishes of those who may engineer his candidacy. Moreover, there appears to be such a widespread belief that anybody can win on the Republican ticket that the Republican managers continue to believe that all they need to do is to consult their own wishes as to the Presidency.

It is for that reason that General Wood has shown good judgment in taking the field early and in talking freely. If historical precedents controlled, our next President would undoubtedly be a general—every war we have fought has had such a result; but there has never yet been a general who was elected after a war in which he did not himself take part on the firing line. Unable to run on a military record won under fire, General Wood is building a platform which is necessarily as much concerned with pending problems as if he were a full-fledged civilian. Being a military man, however, he is bound to express himself clearly upon the matter of an army and a navy; and so he is for "a small but excellent army and ever-ready navy." He of course favors universal military training, but it is to be noted that he asks for a smaller army than do the War Department and Secretary Baker. His readiness to subordinate this matter, however, shows a reasonable mind, as well as a keen appreciation of the reluctance of Congress to commit itself to a universal military service plan in view of popular dislike of the proposal.

As a candidate for the Republican nomination, General Wood is bound to take a position on the protective tariff and to push that subject well to the front in his utterances. At the same time, he realizes that one must be not cryptic but diplomatic in dealing with an issue like this, and he probably remembers well what happened to another military candidate, General Hancock, when he declared that the tariff was a parochial issue. Hence, we have the following safe and sane utterance: "We need a protective tariff sufficient to protect such of our industries as need protection." Surely this is a masterpiece of wisdom to which no one but a confirmed free trader could take exception. Lest, however, he should seem to be too rigid even in this position, the General adds the qualification that "this tariff will vary with the change of conditions which will occur as the European nations gain increased strength and vigor for industrial competition." We can think of nothing to add to this admirable gem of doctrine unless it be a sentence to the effect that tariffs will, of course, vary under a government of the Republican party precisely as the profits of the protected manufacturers wane or wax at any given time.

Turning to other issues, we find the same fondness on the General's part for concrete statement. Thus, we read that "good business should receive all possible encouragement," and that we should "remove the strangle-hold of excess profit taxation from business." The railways should be returned to and continued under private ownership, "subject to such governmental supervision as will result in equitable rates, proper handling of interstate questions, etc." Equally striking and original is the assertion that relations between "those who work and those who direct must be on the basis of a square deal to labor and a square deal to capital." Who could challenge this? Nay, who would challenge it? Who would deny that we must give "an honest day's wage for an honest day's work, and in turn labor must give an honest day's work. We must not only let live, but help to live"; or that "we have the world at our feet, figuratively speaking, and should push forward our commerce and trade vigorously," developing a suitable merchant marine from the great fleet that we now have? Indeed, when it comes to foreign affairs, General Wood invariably has a clear vision: "Our international policy should be a strong, dignified, and conservative policy, 'speak softly but carry a big stick,' love peace and a square deal; but be ready to protect American trade and American interests."

It is easy from all this to discover just what kind of an America General Wood is aiming at. He defines it very accurately in a way to appeal to everyone. "We must build up respect for law and order and the rights of property, the rights of the individual, for everything rests on this." He then adds the solemn warning to smash the red flag and knock out the Reds wherever one encounters them. Yet, balancing both sides with a fairness usually found only in one who has long served in Congress, he continues, "We must see to it that there is no class legislation, but that our government is maintained under our Constitution." In other words, "we must establish . . . a government which our fathers intended to have, and which we must have if we are to preserve our liberties and be prosperous and happy at home and respected abroad."

What a deep philosophy, what profound wisdom in this nutshell! Obviously, it covers Fiume, Mexico, the Japanese in China, the Saar Basin, all the problems of the Treaty of Versailles, with utter completeness, and all our domestic ills as well. Such quotations show that General Wood is an ideal candidate from the politician's point of view—a past master of generalities, a far-seeing statesman, too shrewd to fall into the trap of expediency or of temporary particularism. In truth, General Wood might well say with another distinguished candidate for the same high office:

> 'There's nothin' thet my natur' so shuns
> Ez bein' mum or underhand;
> I'm a straight-spoken kind o' creetur
> Thet blurts right out wut's in his head,
> An' ef I've one pecooler feetur,
> It is a nose that wunt be led.

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Minority Rights at Albany

THE original charges against the five suspended Socialist Assemblymen at Albany were, as Mr. William D. Guthrie of the Union League Club asserts, "unambiguous, clear, and distinct." The Assemblymen were charged with being members of the Socialist party of America, an organization which, dedicated to "the furtherance of the International Socialist Revolution," has endorsed the violent principles of the Communist Internationale. Members of the Socialist party, it was charged, agree to be guided by the constitution and platform of the party, and may be expelled or suspended for failure to follow the instructions of the party organization—instructions which may be issued by an executive committee "made up in whole or in part of alien enemies." It was charged that the Socialist party denounced the war and urged its members "to refuse to engage in the conduct of the war." "The five Assemblymen, having been elected on the platform of the Socialist party of America, have thereby subscribed to the Socialist party of America against the organized government of the United States and the State of New York, and have been actively associated and connected with an organization convicted of a violation of the Espionage act of the United States." Such was the final charge against the Assemblymen.

The evidence introduced by the prosecution was such as might have been expected on the basis of charges like these. By way of proving the violent intentions of the Socialist party, manifestos of the Communist party—probably the most bitter opponent of the Socialists—were read into the record. Speeches of Socialists and Communists; Socialist constitutions, manifestos, and by-laws; excerpts from Socialist literature and from the literature of the opposition; the testimony of "experts" on socialism; judicial opinions, and pages from the Socialist press—all these and more were, through dreary hours, read into the record. Chairman Martin, when the record had achieved the considerable bulk of 1,154 pages, asserted, in answer to a motion to strike out irrelevant matter, that of the 515 pages which he had so far read, ninety-two pages were "quite important."

By the time the prosecution had emptied its quiver, the aspect of the case had materially changed. The ninety-two pages of "quite important" evidence were so obviously not of a character on which to indict a party, that the issue was imperceptibly shifted so as to fasten upon the five Assemblymen proof of individual transgressions. Unfortunately for the prosecution, the star testimony of a young woman witness for the defense, who asserted that Assemblyman Solomon had, at a public meeting, spat upon the flag of the United States and insulted soldiers in uniform, was afterward denied by two policemen who were present at the meeting. The only concrete, unrefuted evidence against the Socialists was contained in quotations from certain campaign speeches which were in several cases intemperate. Violent language has been heard before in American political campaigns, and as evidence of a sober desire to overthrow the government of the United States such remarks must be considerably discounted.

As for the defense, that, too, has been discursive. Members of the investigating committee have seemed to delight in giving Mr. Morris Hillquit, the leading counsel for the Socialists, unlimited opportunity for brilliant and caustic dialectic. A degree of unconscious innocence and naïveté appears in the questions and remarks addressed to Mr. Hillquit that may well amaze anyone who failed to read the reports of hearings of the Lusk and Overman committees. The Socialists, on their part, have recited whole volumes about the theory, practise, and history of socialism in the United States and Europe. They have defended their stand in regard to the war. They have questioned the public spirit, as evidenced in his legislative record, of Speaker Sweet. They have attempted to prove their own unwearied activity in behalf of the people of the State. On the whole, they have given evidence of intelligence, honesty, and vision in public affairs. Less can be said for their accusers.

If the Socialists are unseated—unless the prosecution is able to adduce more evidence in its behalf during the last days of the defense than it has done in the presentation of its own case—the country will have to bear the consequences of a blunder which amounts to much more than a miscarriage of justice. Representative government will have been brought into contempt; democracy will have received a severer blow than the Bolsheviki have ever dealt it; and radicals throughout the United States will listen with a new and dangerous sympathy to the doctrine that the ballot is no longer a reliable weapon with which to change the existing order of society. If the Socialist Assemblymen and reseated, the whole proceeding will be revealed as the sorry farce that it is, and the citizens of the State will have an opportunity to reflect upon the use to which some $750,000 of their money has been put, and upon the waste of more than two months of legislative time that should have been devoted to the pressing needs of one of the most critical years in the nation's history.

Pictures of the Past

WHEN we read or think about the past, what images actually form in our minds? Take the average American, for instance. He probably has two sets of such images and no more. One is of bunchy persons in preposterous garments—something between a toga and a burnoose—moving over the garish landscape of a Sunday-school card. The other is of heroic gentlemen in the blue-and-buff of the American Revolution, with powdered wigs and elaborate manners, either engaging in battle or else dancing minuets with the furbelowed dames who, like their gallants, abound in the illustrations of the old-fashioned history books. As the blue-and-buff habiliments represent actually a very brief period of history, and those of the Sunday-school pictures none at all, this is but a scanty wardrobe for the imagination. And in matters not quite so sartorial, things are little better. There are probably only a few persons alive anywhere who can sit down and assemble anything like an accurate mental picture of a street in Athens or Rome or Florence or Paris or London or Weimar or Philadelphia, even in the days which mean most and are consequently most studied in the history of those cities. We have generally but the vaguest notions of the physiognomy of the ancients, or even of the remoter moderns. We cannot actually visualize them at their meals, at their work, at their relaxations.

If this is the case now, when we possess libraries of archæology to draw upon if we care to, we may find it curi-

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ous to wonder what the situation was before illustrated books had become common. By the testimony of the paintings of the Middle Ages, the past then was visualized as merely like the present in its external details. On the Elizabethan stage, we know, the Greeks and Romans were set forth pretty much after the fashions contemporary with the audiences. And even far down through the eighteenth century this custom prevailed. We are amazed that Garrick could have acted Lear in breeches and a wig without his hearers caring. It is certain that, while most of them would have known better if questioned, they did not experience the shock we should feel at the contrast. Lear belonged to a period about which the eighteenth century readers knew little. They were, however, hardly more exact in their images of the Greek and Roman past. Examine, for instance, the illustrations of Pope's Homer, which was completed two hundred years ago this year. It was issued in a magnificent folio with elaborate plates. The frontispiece to the second volume, "Troja cum Locis pertingentibus," aims to exhibit the plains of Troy, with the sea in the foreground and at the back the city itself. It is true that the ships have slightly Grecian prows, and the warriors on the plains fight with bows and spears and shields and chariots. But the citadel towers above the surrounding houses suspiciously as does St. Paul's above the City of London. The landscape rolls across the page with the soft curves of England. Here and there are English hedgerows, and the brooks and mountains, so far as they have any vraisemblance at all, are of English make. Quaint and incredible! But what chance, after all, had the illustrator for knowing better? Not for a generation did the excavations begin at Herculaneum and Pompeii, or Winckelmann begin the great career which taught the world to think of the ancients very much in their true proportions, though of course not in their true colors or movements. The fact of the matter is that the Renaissance and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, spiritual great-grandchildren of Greece and Rome and worshippers of their ancestors, did not really know what their ancestors looked like. Yet in those ages a great and truthful art grew out of that worship.

The moral seems to be that we lean very little upon definite images in our imagination of the past. The vaguest images will do for most people. Even when we deal with more recent periods and have striking illustrations to help us out, such as Hogarth's for his age, or those of Phiz for Dickens and Ainsworth, or those of the too-much-neglected F. O. C. Darley for the old American frontier, we probably depend less upon them than we think. We create our favored personages from history or fiction in our own image. Let any reader of a historical novel, even of so incomparably vivid a series of pictures as "Salammbo," examine himself as he reads, and the chances are he will find that, having seized upon a few mental or moral traits of the characters, he follows them by this scent and hardly notices their outward appearances again, any more than he carefully visualizes the landscape, much pleasure as he may take from its presence in the action. Such an examination is likely to show, on simple psychological grounds, that Lessing has not been wholly superseded in his doctrines of the true provinces of poetry and art. It is likely also to make us ask whether the Imagists, exquisite lyrics and vivid episodes as they have produced, can ever by images alone build up any great or sustained illusion of events really transacted in something like a real world.

Another "Man Without a Country"

ONE of the minor disadvantages of permitting the Administration to deport any alien the color of whose mustache it dislikes, the cut of whose clothes it disapproves, or the workings of whose mind it fears, is the necessity of finding another country that will receive him. One must not only first catch his Red, but, after grilling him to a turn, must discover somebody to whom he can be served on a platter. The theory of the Administration that it could keep the Red sizzling over the fire until he was charred to a Black has been disputed by the courts in the case of Martin de Wal, whom a Federal judge recently ordered released after the immigration officials had held him as a prisoner for more than a year and a half without ever having even charged him with a crime.

De Wal has been described as another "Man Without a Country," and his story is quite as impressive in many ways as that of the subject of the story by Edward Everett Hale. From the facts as set forth in the opinion of the Federal judge it appears that De Wal was arrested at Seattle, on July 12, 1918, and after a hearing by immigration officials was ordered deported. In February, 1919, he was brought to New York and sent to Ellis Island. He obtained a writ of *habeas corpus*, but the case was dismissed on technical grounds. A second writ was obtained in March, a hearing was held in April, and an opinion was filed in June against De Wal. By this time the man had come to look upon deportation as a happy eventuality, and he waived the right of appeal in expectation of a speedy departure. An awkward detail intervened, however. De Wal claimed to be a Dutch subject, but the consul of that country was not satisfied with the evidence and refused a passport.

It might seem that at this point De Wal should have been released, but such is not the way of a Government that has set out to mold everyone's mind so that it will run with that of the powers that be. De Wal remained at Ellis Island, but he became ill and, after considerable effort, his counsel obtained a reduction of his bail to $500. This was furnished in October, 1919, and De Wal went to New Hampshire, where he found work on a farm. His employer certified that he was "reliable, honest, and clever," and except for his illness he was getting on well until, in December, the surety for his bond was withdrawn. Aware of the superabundance of farm labor that is "reliable, honest, and clever," the Commissioner of Immigration at New York ordered De Wal back to Ellis Island, even if he had to come "by ambulance"; and the man surrendered himself soon after. De Wal's counsel then appealed to the courts again, and was fortunate in getting the facts before Judge Knox, who in ordering De Wal's release said: "Now deportation, while it may result as a consequence of the commission of crime, is not the punishment of a crime, and imprisonment for an indefinite and interminable term cannot, in my judgment, be an incident of the warrant of deportation. . . . If such be the case then an alien, under circumstances similar to those here present, is in effect imprisoned for life."

To this we would add as an *obiter dictum* that in America, in the year 1920, it is bad business to be an alien, worse business to be a Red, and no business at all to be both an alien and a Red.

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Coöperation at Chicago

By HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY

WHEN is coöperation not coöperation? The trained coöperator may have felt tempted to ask himself this question as he attended the sessions of the All American Farmer-Labor Coöperative Congress during its three-day meeting at Chicago in the second week of February. An outgrowth of the Farmer-Labor Conference held in Chicago during November, the meeting brought together representatives of progressive farm and labor organizations from Bangor to Seattle; a delegate remarked "Everybody is here." Naturally, the organization was loose. Delegates were not even asked for their credentials; but then, as an observer said, "They're all just people, anyway, aren't they?" There was rivalry, even among the coöperative organizations represented, and the Congress, in both its preliminary organization and its program, lacked much of utilizing fully the services of the one society that has made of itself a clearing-house for coöperative information in this country. To many of the delegates coöperation was apparently little more than a word and an ideal; the long history of its trials and failures and successes was a closed book. It is fairly certain that some of the mistakes of the past will be repeated in consequence. Yet that, after all, is the way with living things; they refuse to grow according to formula. Whatever else may be said of the coöperative idea in the United States, it is certainly alive, and it is growing at a rate that gives concern to those who know its dangers and pitfalls.

The tone of the Congress may be judged from a roster of a few of the more important organizations represented: on the agricultural side, the Farmers' National Council, which claims to speak for 750,000 farmers in eighteen States, the American Society of Equity, and the National Federation of Gleaners; and among the industrial workers the great railroad brotherhoods, the machinists, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, to mention only a few among many. To quote C. H. Gustafson, president of the commission that organized the Congress:

> Coöperation is the only immediate solution for the present industrial and farm unrest. Coöperation is probably the last orderly method by which the struggling masses of our country will seek relief from the present oppressive and unjust economic conditions. As American citizens who love our country, we are necessarily interested in securing relief in such a natural and orderly way. . . . The well-financed propaganda to prevent coöperation between farmers and labor has utterly failed. The privileged interests which have financed this effort to keep labor and farmers fighting each other know that their efforts are futile. The fundamental interests of farm and labor are those of American citizenship. They are both equally interested in getting honest pay for labor performed. They are both opposed to giving any part of their earnings for which they are working so hard to any speculators or unnecessary middlemen.

It is the realization of this common interest of farmers and laborers as producers that gives to the present movement its power and possibilities, and that warrants the hostility with which it is being watched in certain privileged quarters.

Another aspect of the same problem was emphasized in the address of Sidney Hillman:

> The problems confronting us will be solved by proper relations between producers and consumers, and employers and employees. We must secure the introduction of democracy in industry to solve the problems between employer and employee, and must cut out all wastes to solve the problem of producer and consumer. The government has utterly failed in its efforts to solve any of these problems. The trouble is the government has no policy, and the only hope is direct coöperation between producers and consumers, or a thorough-going government policy of regulation.

When the leaders of important groups of producers realize that the government is entirely lacking in any economic policy and is trying to settle economic difficulties by beating political tomtoms and when they accordingly go about it to devise economic remedies for themselves, it is a sign that social thinking has at any rate not entirely lost its vigor in the United States.

While the Chicago Congress eschewed politics, however, and distinctly disavowed any purpose to launch a third-party movement, it did not fail to recognize the importance of government activities and expenditures in any undertaking directed to the efficient and inexpensive production of necessaries. In what was perhaps the broadest address of the entire conference, Glenn E. Plumb, whose influence among the more thoughtful producing groups is steadily widening, declared:

> The program upon which we are embarking is fundamental, broad, inclusive of every phase of national life. . . . We seek to engage in a coöperative enterprise embracing every step from the production of raw materials through collection, manufacture, storage, and distribution—to the ultimate consumer. This requires including in our program a proper understanding of the processes of credit, the economic basis of industry, the relation and effect of governmental expenditures upon both credit and industrial economics, and the relation of distribution to production, credit, and government. . . .
>
> We are striving to escape from the duress imposed by a government of a small group of dominant men, to free ourselves from a monopoly and control of credit—to obtain for ourselves independence in many fields of endeavor from which we are now barred, and to restore to our enjoyment the old variety of freedom, individual energy, and opportunity of development which the President says are now "entirely out of the question."
>
> In order that we may have access to information, freedom of discussion, and liberty of expression of our views and conclusions, we must first secure the enjoyment of the civic liberties which the Constitution guarantees to all citizens as the basis of formulating, adopting, and effecting democratic participation in government. . . . So first, as the very basis of our endeavor, we must declare for and secure enjoyment of the civic liberties that form the basis of our freedom.
>
> We are undertaking a coöperative enterprise which we hope will be directly participated in by upwards of 4,000,000 men, 20,000,000 citizens. In this enterprise we seek to combine the interests of those engaged in the initial processes of all industry, agriculture, the suppliers of food and materials for clothing; . . . of that vast body of productive effort engaged in the fabrication of the things which the preceding body have extracted; . . . [and] of that vast body of men employed in distribution, from farm, lumber camp, and mine, to storage and thence back again to the human beings whose daily needs must be met by the products so coöperatively produced. These three elements of human effort we may classify as those of extraction fabrication, and distribution. For every phase of this endeavor we depend primarily upon labor, secondarily upon credit.

After analyzing the place of credit in coöperative pro-

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duction, Mr. Plumb entered upon a sharp criticism of "that great monopoly of credits which exists in the small groups of capitalists who control the financial resources of the country." In an unsparing criticism of the Federal Reserve system, he pointed out that a billion and a half of credit has been advanced on government contracts now cancelled, that other hundreds of millions have been loaned against exports that cannot now be made good owing to the disorganized state of the exchanges, and that as a result of the inflation due to the issuance of Federal Reserve notes and other credit on liabilities that will never be paid, "the substance of our possessions has been transferred to make good the shadowy claims of this small group of capitalists who monopolize the control of credits." After urging specific remedies for this situation, he turned to the condition of government finances arising out of the war, with expenditures for the war period eleven billions in excess of receipts, and with expenses for this year estimated at eight billions:

> If we engage in our coöperative effort without placing the burden of these deficits and this depreciation where they belong, by blindly shouldering in our coöperative enterprise the burdens which we are seeking to escape, we are blind men leading the blind.
>
> If we meet this indebtedness by a tax on industry, we distribute the liability to each man in accordance with his purchasing power. When all is said and done, we may be compelled to accept the solution already adopted in Germany, and now considered as inevitable in Great Britain—the discharge of the entire national debt by placing a capital levy upon property.
>
> Doubtless some of you are asking yourselves, what has this to do with our coöperative enterprise? It affects it directly in this way: Our entire purpose is so to conduct our enterprise as to escape from the costs now exacted of us which do not represent actual service, and to limit the costs of our enterprise to the payment only of actual service. The burden of this tax will increase or diminish the efficiency of our enterprise according to the method by which it is assessed and collected.

A coöperative movement directed by men with such a point of view and such an appreciation of the relation between public and private spending gives promise of interesting political results, no matter how strictly it may in the beginning limit itself to economic activities.

It would perhaps be a mistake to emphasize too strongly the definite accomplishments of a gathering like the Chicago Congress. While coöperation is no new thing in the United States, the conscious effort to bring together farmers and industrial workers in a large-scale coöperative undertaking is a new venture, and there must be much preliminary work before too much of achievement can be claimed. Yet the conference was intended to be the "push-off" along definite lines of actual accomplishment, and its work, particularly in the field of credit, may well prove a milestone in the progress of coöperation in this country. We have had coöperative retail stores and wholesale undertakings; and during the past year an extremely interesting development has been taking place in Illinois that gives promise of a new type of coöperation between wholesale and retail enterprises that seems particularly adapted to American idiosyncrasies. During the past few months, also, the railroad brotherhoods have bought outright for a million dollars factories manufacturing overalls, gloves, hosiery, underwear, sweaters, and other knit goods, and are selling direct to members at what are reported to be substantial savings; it is planned to distribute the surplus output through the coöperative stores of the country. In Nebraska the farmers have already subscribed several hundred thousand dollars to erect and equip their own beet sugar factories; while in the Northwest arrangements are under way for furnishing the coöperative stores with flour and milling products direct from the farmers' coöperative plants. Such things are going on everywhere.

Just as the North Dakota farmers put their own bank at the basis of their program of economic independence, so are the coöperators already discovering that the control of credit is essential to the success of their undertakings. This presents a nice problem; for not only are the technical banking questions involved difficult enough, but scarcely any of the States have made provision by law for coöperative banking or credit unions. There exists therefore a threefold task—educational, legislative, and technical; and there should be no minimizing of the difficulties involved. A good beginning was made at Chicago. After careful preliminary study, a permanent committee was appointed under chairmanship of Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the other members being George P. Hampton, of the Farmers' National Council, C. H. Gustafson, of the Nebraska Farmers' Union, Sidney Hillman, of the Amalgamated Garment Workers, and Frank Rust, Secretary-Manager of the Seattle Labor Bank. The committee is authorized to aid in the development of credit unions in those States whose laws make their operations possible, and to press for adequate coöperative credit legislation by the Legislatures of the other States and by the Congress of the United States. What is even more important, the committee has authority "to encourage the establishment of national or State banks such as will meet the needs of the community," and "to gather the data and make the surveys necessary as a preliminary to determine whether the establishment at the time and place of such an institution is advisable under the conditions then and there existing." Under the last clause it would be perfectly possible for the committee to serve as a steering committee for a coöperative movement of tremendous scope and the most far-reaching possibilities; and its personnel is sufficient guarantee that its plans are likely to be broadly laid and intelligently executed.

Whatever its immediate results, the Chicago Congress is a sign of a healthy state of mind, an indication of a spirit of self-reliance operating socially. If the mutations of party politics offer little hope of lowering the cost of living and adjusting the strained relations between industrial classes, movements like that represented at Chicago give evidence that some, at least, of our producers are beginning to get an idea of the nature of the malady that afflicts us, and are willing to launch out boldly in experiments that at any rate are designed to cure the disease and not simply to treat the symptoms.

Contributors to this Issue

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A Set-Back for Reaction in Canada

By J. A. STEVENSON

Ottawa, February 18

ABOUT one hundred and thirty years ago the acquittal of the Twelve Reformers established for the British people the principle of freedom of political thought and discussion. After being accepted in the intervening years as a natural right and matter of course, it was assailed last summer by the Canadian Government at the instigation of the Winnipeg Citizens' Committee. A number of strike leaders were arrested on the charge of seditious conspiracy, and after many delays their trials have been proceeding since November. The Government won the first round by securing the conviction of Mr. R. B. Russell, but they have now met with a signal defeat at the hands of an able and courageous man who has the additional glory of vindicating this threatened fundamental right without the help of any legal assistance.

Mr. F. J. Dixon, for whom the jury brought in a verdict of acquittal on February 16, is an Englishman by birth, who, after playing an active part in the radical and single-tax movements in Manitoba, was elected to the legislature for a Winnipeg seat in 1914 as a Labor member. Somewhat critical of Socialism and belonging to the Right wing of the Labor movement, he had no sympathy with the One Big Union propaganda, and his part in the strike of May, 1919, was largely confined to some speeches protesting against the arbitrary conduct of the authorities and exhorting the workers to solidarity. The Crown could only hope for success by an extravagant interpretation of the definition of sedition and to this all their efforts were bent. Mr. Justice Galt, who presided, is a gentleman of the old school, with a fine sense of fair play and judicial responsibility, and as a result the atmosphere of the trial was in happy contrast to the Russell prosecution. Though Mr. Dixon showed a grasp of legal lore and procedure which elicited compliments from the judge, he paid little attention to legal subtleties, and based his defense on inherent rights, part and parcel of the British heritage of democratic freedom, for whose vindication his address to the jury was a magnificent and impassioned plea. After deliberating nearly forty hours, the jury brought in a verdict of "Not Guilty."

This signal triumph has shattered the front of the reactionary foes of liberty, and the first result was that the Crown lawyers withdrew their similar case against Mr. J. S. Woodsworth, the well-known Winnipeg social worker. It seems a pity now that the question whether quotations from Isaiah are seditious is not to be tested. The other prosecutions are in hand. Mr. J. Farnell, a returned soldier, has just been found guilty of seditious conspiracy in another court, but the verdict will be worthless and will do the Government more harm than good. The trials, however, are producing some amazing revelations. One of the "star" witnesses in the Russell case was Corporal Zaneth of the North West Mounted Police. Zaneth is an Austrian by birth, a native of Trieste, and it now transpires that at a time when all the loyal patriots and bellicose clerics in Canada were demanding desperate measures against all alien enemies, even their wholesale expulsion from Canada, this useful foeman was being employed by the federal authorities as a spy and agent provocateur. Suitably equipped with papers and certificates which protected him from arrest either as an alien enemy or a draft evader, he managed to join various Socialist bodies, attended their meetings, and handed in regular reports of the proceedings to the Mounted Police officials. Cross-examined by the chief counsel for the defense, Zaneth said:

> I told lies every time I wanted information. I told a string of lies. I lied every day. I didn't care whether I carried out my obligations or not. Yes, I think Canada needs liars. Major Duffis gave me a parole as an Austrian on instructions of Commissioner Perry of the Mounted Police. I then reported to the police once a week so that they could not interfere with me under the Military Service act. . . . If you want to call me a spy, then I am a spy. I guess that in the Russell case I was a wolf in sheep's clothing.

During the Russell case Zaneth testified that Knight, a Socialist leader, had shown him a store of 1,000 rifles, but later he admitted that he only saw 18 or 20. Mr. Justice Metcalfe made a naïve explanation of this extraordinary confession, saying: "He was a spy sent out to get information. How could a spy get information in Germany or the lines of the enemy, external or internal, without lying? He says he is a liar. We all know he is a liar." Yet Mr. R. B. Russell is now serving a sentence of two years in jail mainly on the evidence of this "alien" police spy of whom the judge who presided at the trial now says: "We all know he is a liar."

Meanwhile Mr. Newton Wesley Rowell, who as President of the Privy Council and parliamentary head of the Mounted Police is ultimately responsible for these scandalous events, is trying to distract public attention by an agitation against what he declares is an assault by the American Senate upon Canada's newly won national status. The Lenroot resolution is the special offense. The anti-American prejudice dies hard in Ontario, and Mr. Rowell aspires to use it once more. In a recent speech he waxed indignant that Americans should deny Canada a place in the League while according it to insignificant communities like Haiti and Panama. His argument that Canada's record as a belligerent performed a constitutional operation and automatically altered her international status is too childish to bear examination and the *Ottawa Citizen* promptly read him a few lessons in elementary international law. But the Cabinet has sent a protest to the British Government against any attempt to rewrite the covenant of the League in such terms as would remove Canada's right to a separate vote. The fact that the protest is made through Downing Street is in itself evidence that Canada lacks the requisites of statehood which Mr. Rowell insists on confusing with nationality. However the *Montreal Gazette*, the leading Conservative paper in Canada, faithfully expressed in a recent editorial the opinion of intelligent Canadians thus: "They know that those who mixed up the covenant with the peace treaty made a miserable mess of both, and they are by no means certain that the League will function with or without their vote. They are inclined to think that the success of the League will be more a question of common interest than of voting rights and contract."

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Lenin, the "Times," and the Associated Press

By FRANCIS MUSGRAVE

IT being, I have reason to believe, on the side of law and order, it never having been justly—in my judgment—accused of pro-Bolshevism, and it being unalterably committed to its policy of printing "all the news that's fit to print," anyone bent on reviewing the recent history of Nicholas Lenin naturally turns to the columns of the *New York Times*. There, of course, must the truth be found. Is it not the greatest and the most accurate of our news gatherers? Alas, after making such a study, one leaves it with a feeling of disillusionment, not unmixed with the suspicion that the greatest of our newspaper idols may after all permit itself the luxury not only of a dislike but of a prejudice bordering on cruelty. How else can one explain the fact that the *Times* has killed Lenin once, attempted to assassinate him three times—but I am anticipating.

It is in May, 1917, that one first meets with signs of a deliberate attempt on the part of the *Times* to do away with Lenin. On the tenth of that month it printed an Associated Press cablegram announcing that the chief of the Russian Reds was missing in Petrograd, keeping its readers in suspense for twelve long days, when it quoted the Associated Press again as reporting him still alive. Not until July 31 was he reported missing again, or rather still, for the A. P. reverted then to its position of May 10. On August 13 it hedged again by discovering Lenin in Petrograd once more, but this merely induced the *Times* to do a little detective work on its own hook, with the result that in a special despatch on September 1 from Geneva it definitely located Lenin in Switzerland. That discouraged the A. P. only briefly however, for by the twenty-eighth of that month it once more placed Lenin in Petrograd. There it let him alone until the eleventh of November, 1917, when the *Times* and the A. P. placed him at the head of a new Russian Cabinet. Within five days, however, a London despatch reported Lenin's power as waning, which the *Times*, through its most reliable special correspondent, Harold Williams, supplemented with the news, three days later, that the Lenin Government "had split." Eleven days later Mr. Williams sent a "scoop" that the "coalition cabinet forced on Bolsheviki after peasants' conference turns on Lenin."

From that time on we find Lenin's life in considerable danger as a result of the activities of the Associated Press and the *Times*. Thus, they began the new year on January 17, 1918, by firing four shots at Lenin, without, however, hitting him once. On February 18 the A. P. got over a masterpiece by chronicling an attempt to kidnap Lenin and, that being foiled, it reported simultaneously from Stockholm, London, and Petrograd that the Bolshevist power was once more definitely on the wane. It followed this up two days later by the news from London that Finland had heard that Lenin had fled (flight number 67?) and insisted that the Bolsheviki had been overthrown. Naturally, that put Mr. Williams on his mettle; something had to be done, and so Trotzky came to the fore. Trotzky's associates, Mr. Williams triumphantly cabled, had turned upon him and might compel him to resign. Sixteen days later the Associated Press made him resign, but two days later, in another "beat," Mr. Williams showed that it was Lenin, the wicked, who had "dismissed Trotzky." Not until June 23 do we, however, get signs of the remorse one would expect for such an act, when Zurich reported Lenin as ready to resign.

Once more the plot thickens. Enter Moscow in the first of its sensational series of blood-curdling captures. On June 29 it was reported taken in an exclusive special to the *Times*, and, of course, the Red leaders were once more in flight (flight number 68?). It took the A. P. some time to get over that "beat," but when it got its breath it made Mr. Williams look quite sick. In the headlines of the *Times* of August 12 we read: "Lenin May Seek Refuge in Berlin—Prepares for Flight With Trotzky (reconciliation number 5?) as Red Régime Totters." There was some more good reading the next day: "Red Leaders Flee (flight number 69?)—Reach Kronstadt—Entire Bolshevist Government Escaping from Moscow." Three days later they fled again (flight number 70?), but luck was against them, for as the Paris A. P. so truthfully reported on August 18: "Lenin's Refuge is in Foe's Possession—Report Kronstadt Seized by Germans." Washington confirmed this to the A. P. two days later; Trotzky and his side partner were then on a "warship at Kronstadt ready to flee," the Germans being doubtless too busy plundering Kronstadt to bother to capture them. A week later official Washington "appeared to be confirmed" in its belief that "both Moscow and Petrograd had been virtually abandoned by the principal Bolshevist leaders." (August 27.)

The next week witnessed a still more determined effort on the part of the A. P. to get rid of Lenin by doing away with at least one of his nine lives. On September 1, with the aid of an assassin and the *Times*, Lenin was twice wounded and the next day "reported" dead in an eight column *Times* headline. Alas, on the third day he was not dead, but on the fifth of September he had a relapse—in the columns of the *Times*—and on the seventh hopes of his early demise were encouraged by the news that he was "reported weaker." Thereafter silence until the middle of the next month, when by way of Amsterdam the A. P. attempted to assassinate him again: "Amsterdam Hears the Bolshevist Leader was shot by a Member of the Soviet Bureau." But, as this did not do the trick, the *Times* decided on October 26 to try prison; it cheerfully reported Lenin a captive on that date. This not sufficing, the A. P. fell back on flight once more, announcing on December 9 in the *Times* that the "Red Leaders [are] Ready to Flee to Sweden (flight number 71?). A week later, Lenin having reached the end of his rope once more, was reported "ready to give up." Evidently the rogue had a change of heart, for the A. P. reported on January 3, 1919, that though his train was captured he not only did not give up but obtained safety by a base flight. None the less, he was soon to meet with his deserts, for six days later Trotzky did what the Allies were trying—or should one say lying?—to do: he triumphantly proclaimed himself dictator and locked Lenin up (arrest number 16?). Then the veracious Washington bureau of the A. P. took hold again, announcing that Lenin's prison was the Kremlin, but prison bars never hold Lenin long, and a week later the A. P. and *Times* scored a great "scoop" by locating Lenin in Spain, Madrid announcing him in Barcelona. Leaving him there to the mercies of the local Reds, the A. P. again went after

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Trotzky. It captured him, with the aid of the *Times*, on January 25, and uncaptured him two days later. It had him at odds with Lenin—still in Spain—and the other Red leaders on February 19, and saw to it that a bullet hit his hat on March 15.

This being rather slow progress, the *Times* then got busy again with some more news fit to print, of its own. A London special announced good tidings under these headlines: "Trotzky Opposes Lenin—Break Between the Bolshevist Leaders Said to be Definite." By April 22 another *Times* special announced that the proletariat was plotting against Lenin and that Lenin was blaming Trotzky for this. On May 28 came the familiar news that the Soviet chiefs had fled again (flight number 72?) and on June 7 Lenin was once more "tired of the struggle." On July 3 Harold Williams reappeared, cabling from Ekaterinodar that Trotzky was again "nearly captured." By August 2 we swung back to the striking news that "Lenin intends to retire," a veracious A. P. despatch from Stockholm. And then on September 26 came the familiar telegram that Lenin was a captive in the Kremlin prison in Moscow from which he has so often escaped. Again the readers of the *Times* were treated to the familiar cycle, for in October it killed off thirteen Red leaders in Moscow with a single bomb, which naturally gave rise to a belief that all of Moscow was in revolt. It did not revolt again in the *Times*, after this, until January 26 of this year.

But the Washington A. P. "doomed" Lenin again on October 19 and on October 31 announced that he was reluctantly conceding that the Reds would have to await another chance, after the impending fall of their Government, to put their wicked ideas into practice. Finally the State Department, that source of so many exclusive stories about happenings in Russia, announced that it had news "of revolts all over Red Russia, of a rumor that the Soviet has given up (collapse number 37?)," while Copenhagen "hears Lenin has agreed to turn power over"—and so the chronicle goes on.

Or rather so it went. Not that we do not believe that the ever accurate *Times* and A. P. will fail to assign Lenin to the Kremlin again in 1920 or to renew their reports of other uprisings in Moscow, of his quarrels with Trotzky and of Lenin's quarterly flight somewhere. But that unutterable wretch has injured the game somewhat by defeating all his Russian enemies, by declining to quarrel with Trotzky, by refusing to be the victim of an outraged proletariat, and to die as frequently and as persistently as any well-behaved tyrant should. He has during the period covered by the above despatches conquered all opposition to himself in Russia, compelled the Allies to abstain from their interference in his country, and forced Esthonia and Livonia to make peace with him. That this was not the fault of the A. P. or the *Times* is obvious. But if their little pleasantries as to Lenin seem likely to wane at present, there is always Petrograd to fall back upon. It has thus far fallen six times, been on the verge of capture at least three times more, has been burned to the ground twice, been in absolute panic twice, has starved to death constantly, and has revolted against the Bolsheviks on no less than six different occasions —all in the columns of the *Times*. As for the careers of Yudenitch and Kolchak, these have been equally remarkable —in the *Times*. And still there are Americans who complain that they do not get enough and sufficiently accurate news as to what is going on in Russia!

Richard Dehmel

By LUDWIG LEWISOHN

OBSCURE paragraphs in our daily press announced the fact that on Tuesday, February 10, Richard Dehmel died in Berlin shortly before completing his fifty-seventh year. It is not strange that to the vast majority of men the cabled words meant nothing. How many, even among the technically lettered, habitually read lyrical and philosophical poetry in a tongue not their own? The reputation of Dehmel was just beginning to shimmer beyond the boundaries of his own country when the World War effectually darkened it once more. That was no cause for any inconsolable regret. Richard Dehmel was a poet who could afford to wait. But the message of his death brings to a few in every land a deep sense of desolation and impoverishment.

Nothing less than some communication of that sense is just to Dehmel. For he was more than a creator of beauty through lyrical speech and music, more than the literary discoverer of new perceptions and moods and images, more than a master of the rich and intricate devices of an art. He was a commanding personality; he lived his poems; he strove to be a creator in terms of life, and his written words are the record of that process. To the youth of his own country he was, for many years, not only singer, but master, not only poet, but guide. Not that he was ever the peculiar idol of cliques or coteries. Fame met him so early that he had no need of fashion. But wherever men and women had left behind them the moral nominalism of an enfeebled tradition, wherever their thought broke through the rigid boundaries of class or national consciousness, wherever, in a word, the living spirit of Goethe blended with a social consciousness that Goethe's age had not reached, there Dehmel was a power.

He called his first volume "Redemptions." But the title, in truth, fits his whole work. He was a poet of liberation, of freedom, though in a sense ill understood among us. For he sought liberation not from but through life, and his ideal was the highest individualism tempered by the severest self-discipline. Yet he warned against a wrong interpretation of the latter word. To most men it means the disciplining away of the self, the substitution for it from without of a normalized, tribal or ethical type. To Dehmel it meant the creation out of all that is plastic within us of a self that shall be in harmony with the sum of its mastered but not discarded instincts, with nature, and with the free development of human society. And he was unlike Nietzsche, to whom his ideology has been compared, in this that he desired his ideal to be "in widest commonalty spread," today and here. Every son of man, as he says in the beautifully simple "Holy Night," is a son of God. The Annunciation and the Birth are daily miracles. It is the spirit alone which counts, and all that trammels and warps it must be broken down. Thence arise his sympathy with the workers and that whole group of poems in which, always as a creative seer, never as a propagandist, he ranged himself, long before these latter days, with the forces of social and economic change:

> The evening sky turns sombre red,
> And many poor men cry for bread.
> Grind, O mill, keep grinding.

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The night's womb holds a storm within—
Tomorrow shall the task begin!
Grind, O mill, keep grinding.
The storm shall sweep the fields of earth
Until no man cries out for dearth!
Grind, O mill, keep grinding!

The greater number of his poems which embody experiences more closely personal deal with love. For in love Dehmel saw the major instinct that must be clarified if it is to serve creative uses. His range of incident and imagery here is probably the widest that any poet has commanded. He starts with no preconceptions; he is afraid of nothing; he hides nothing. Love is the "turbid" element in life. To be guided and transformed, it must be grasped in its true nature. Roses and raptures alone will help us little. And with his highest lyrical ecstasy are fused elements of observation and of thought. Men and women do not love in a thin land of the pure emotions, but amid the edges of things and the thongs of circumstance. Hence all these poems, culminating in the cycle of narrative lyrics Two Souls (Zwei Menschen), are of an incomparable density of substance. The traditional abstractions and simplifications are swept away, no shred of mere literature is left, life is translated immediately into art. And here, too, in this turbid atmosphere of the most troubling of human passions he found no clarity for either woman or man save in a loyalty to that very process of change which the inner monitor marks in the creative development of personality:

Thus flaming my command stands fast:
Dawn breaks whenever dusk is past!
If true to that till death, at last
Thou shalt wear the crown of the living:
The creator's crown of the living!

His whole art, which was so rich and various an expression of his own pilgrimage on the road to that perfection which is also the highest self-fulfilment, he addressed to those in whom an equal or a comparable impulse was alive. And to find them he turned deliberately to the "broader masses of the people, because far more than those in power they serve in these days the creative will of life." It is they, too, who possess the "freedom and the joy of a truly human sympathy." For such "sympathy is found perfectly only in spirits to whom man's life is not a road toward mere well-being, worldly distinction, or worldly wisdom, but a steady and fundamental impulse toward a heightening of all creative powers." To that word "creative" Dehmel always returns. There is nothing rigid or finished in his universe. The spirit and the will shape the self and the world; their striving cleanses both of dross, and our creative struggle in today's sultry valleys shall free the peaks of the mountains for the shining of our children's feet (Das Hohe Lied).

In Dehmel's poetry, as in all living art, there is of course no division between form and substance. The creative process of expression is one; the form is an organic part of the expressed substance. With this warning, however, we can make the usual abstraction and fix our attention upon the poet's handling of his medium. Here he had, like other poets who use the German language, one initial advantage. The German classics came late and took from antiquity and from the Renaissance only what could serve the most personal uses. The liberating influence of the folk song was constant and pervasive. Thus free verse has never been the banner of a real revolution in letters. Arno Holz only continued, with minor innovations, the unbroken tradition of Goethe, Hölderlin, Novalis, Möricke, and Heine. Furthermore, there took place, in Dehmel's own time, what he himself called an extraordinary improvement in speech-craft.

He preferred, upon the whole, what we are now wont to call the fixed forms of verse. In the very popular volume of one hundred poems selected by himself from his works, only fourteen are in free rhythms and only four hover on the borderland between free and fixed. Yet to call the form of the remaining eighty-two poems fixed is to invite misunderstanding. Every poem of Dehmel is rhythmically a new thing; the metre is the very music of that particular thought and passion. The divisions are not patterned stanzas, but stages in the creative development of the poem. The substance is never embodied in a metrical medium that had a definite previous existence. One cannot with truth say of Dehmel that he used the couplet or the ballad measure or the ottava rima. Each impulse toward expression created its own form and wrought out its own music. The range of that music is marvellous. There is the rich and sultry throb of the frankly erotic poems, such as Erste Begierde and Aus banger Brust; the repressed flute-tones of such poems of the tragic life as Drückende Luft; the swift abandon of Im Spelunkenrevier; the folk-song lilt of Die stille Stadt; the grave and quiet melody, as of verses in a miracle play, of Mit heiligem Geist; the stormy energy of the Lied an meinen Sohn; the organ-toned fulness of Die Harfe.

The absence of hardened conventions in his native literature served him well in a more vital aspect of his work. He could at once deal creatively with modern life in its totality. No very strong feeling concerning what was fit or unfit for lyrical poetry stood in his way. He found few things unmentionable or poetically offensive by an anterior presumption. Hence he was spared any difficult struggle to find a new expression for new experiences. No antique moods or forms of speech stood between him and the objects of his vision. He could see and use them directly and transfer his inner life to the objective world of art by an imaginative appeal to actual and omnipresent things. A single, very simple example will suffice. There are the telegraph wires that sweep across all the earth. Francis Jammes has spoken of them in French:

On voit, quand vient l'automne, aux fils télégraphiques
De longues lignes d'hirondelles grelotter.

And he has done it beautifully. But there is a touch of the self-conscious in the studied simplicity of this speech and in the almost prosaic modulation of the rhythm. Centuries of "noble" diction hover in the shadows of the poet's mind. Dehmel's lyrical spontaneity in the use of the actual is complete. He is forced into neither self-consciousness nor violence:

Doch immer Du, dies dunkle Du,
und durch die Nacht dies hohle Sausen;
die Telegraphendrähte brausen,
ich schreite meiner Heimat zu.

This example must, of course, be indefinitely multiplied, and it must be broadened so as to include not only the

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things of the outer life, but all the strange and unheard-of stirrings in the intensely conscious soul of our age. It was for his immediate contemporaries that Richard Dehmel was able to clarify and interpret every pang of the heart and every vision of the mind. He is in the highest degree "actual." But the actuality of his verse is always touched with that ultimate beauty which is not of an age, and also, as in his deep and valiant Drinking Song, with an abiding sense of those last mysteries which lie in wait even for those who, like himself, have not only created life, but transcended it:

> But one more hour, then comes the night;
> A bridge grows over the river wide.
> Hail! Oh, hail!
> It creaks beneath a horseman's might.
> Saw ye yon sable horseman ride?
> Hail! Thrice hail!
> The song of life and death we still are singing!
> Crash! A new glass! For upward we go winging
> Above this life to which our lives are clinging!
> Hail!

Have the Churches an Answer?

By A CLERGYMAN

THERE is no spectacle in this upset world quite so pitiful as that presented by the organized Christian churches. They have all spoken in complacent terms of their part in the World War, and on that record they feel that they have convinced the scoffers that Christianity did not fail and that religion is still a vital force in the affairs of men. As a matter of fact, the exact opposite is true. Christianity, or the leaders of Christianity, failed in their duty to mankind during the struggle just finished. The followers of Christ had a definite task to accomplish. This task they signally, and apparently deliberately, refused to perform. Wherefore, the smug apologists of the great Christian sects should feel shame instead of pride.

The record of the war activities of the churches, while very ample, is simple. Practically every pulpit in the land was a source of patriotic inspiration. Every clergyman labored day and night fostering the morale of the army and the people. At home the clergy preached atrocities and in the camps they fired the soldiers with a holy zeal to attack and kill the enemy. Briefly, the record shows that both here and abroad each of the ordained spokesmen of Christianity justified and consecrated the action of his own people in resorting to arms. His nation was fighting God's battle, and all who wished to be friends of God must help to the fullest extent of their powers. Thus a composite photograph, as it were, of all the Christian preachments reveals to us the doctrine of the man in the street, the doctrine of those who believe it their highest duty to be ready to die for their country whether right or wrong.

The primary duty of any religion to its followers during a war is very different from all this. It is a sacred and specific duty, never to be confused with the duties of recruiting officers and lay statesmen. The ministers of religion, however, as a body neglected their own obligations and took up those of other elements of the national family. Because of this woeful and perhaps wilful neglect, they deserve not praise, but unqualified blame. And if, as it may turn out, many of them had no knowledge of the high moral teaching that they were bound in honor to sustain, or if, having learned of its existence, they reject it, then they will have in their own hearts an object-lesson of the causes that have moved so many to fall away from organized Christianity.

The precise nature of the part of religion in any war is perhaps best outlined in the official theological textbooks of the Roman Catholic Church. The authors of these works studied war in the calm of their cells, and discussed it academically and philosophically. As they were addressing themselves to that scientific world that knows no racial or natural boundaries they were estopped from making concessions to national prejudices or passions. The grave and solemn findings of these students are startling and oftentimes stern indictments of the modern patriotic clergy.

War is considered under the commandment that reads so ominously, "Thou shalt not kill." One learns of offensive and defensive war, of the sovereign authority needed to declare war, and of the proper manner of conducting war when unfortunately one occurs. As regards the cause of war we find that in order to make a war licit the cause must be not only just, but adequate. Not for trivial reasons may human lives be endangered; only weighty causes will suffice.

The question of responsibility is viewed from two angles: first from that of the sovereign, and then from that of the subject. As to the sovereign we read that he is not justified in declaring war or in waging war unless he is morally certain that his cause is just and adequate; for, as the authors make clear, so grave are the evils that always accompany and follow war—evils such as slaughter and rapine and corruption of morals—that the ruler or rulers who without absolute necessity bring about war are responsible to God for all its excesses. As to the duty of the subject a distinction is drawn between the soldier under arms and the citizen not yet called to the colors. The soldier, since he has been laboriously trained to obey, may in all cases save that of an evidently unjust war accept the judgments of his superiors. With regard to the subject not yet under arms it is specifically shown that he cannot accept, save perhaps in the case of the very ignorant, the views or opinions of anyone; but that he must make due inquiry and reach in his own mind moral certitude of the justice and adequacy of the alleged causes, else he cannot go to battle. If there is any hesitation in his mind he cannot volunteer, and if forced to go he cannot kill or injure the enemy even when the enemy attacks him. The reason given for this conclusion is not elaborate. It is simply this: that no Christian on the strength of a doubt can actively or passively coöperate in the spoliation of the goods or life of another

Summing up the findings, no man can vote for war unless he is morally certain that no other course but war is open; and no man can honestly go to war unless, after sober investigation, as thorough as his talents and education permit, he convinces himself that the cause of his country is not only just but adequate. The trained soldier may as a general rule obey his superiors without question. Everyone else, however, must decide for himself. This last obligation is personal and inalienable, and cannot be waived in favor of anyone, regardless of his eminence or distinction. All who fail to observe these regulations are guilty of a breach of a commandment of God. Whether the person be a ruler or a sovereign, whether he be a soldier or a civilian, he must obey God's laws; and all who deliberately fail in time of war to follow the letter and spirit of the foregoing conclusions

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deny that precept which says "Thou shalt not kill." Put into cold and bitter words, they commit murder, or—what is just as wicked—aid others to commit murder.

Such is the official teaching of the Roman Catholic Church. Is it too much to say that it is clearly the doctrine of Christianity? Is there a Christian clergyman anywhere who will deny the truth of this doctrine? Be his sect as far removed from the Roman Catholic Church as the poles are from one another, will he deny the supreme right of the individual conscience, or the fact that unjust war is murder? Wherefore, since so many of the clergy believed all this either officially or unofficially, why was it that none of them taught it to their charges? Looking at the World War as moralists, the clergy everywhere knew that at least one of the participants must be waging an unjust war, and that as a consequence murder was being done every day on all the fronts. Though they all loudly proclaimed the righteousness of their own people, every one of them knew that for all he had learned God held the enemy in high esteem, perhaps looked on them as His favored children. For while His spokesmen on both sides had no misgivings as to His views, God gave no sign. It really was not the office of the clergy to search the inscrutable mind of the Almighty, since this is wasted effort on the part of man. Their plain duty was to teach every man under their influence that on him alone was laid the heavy responsibility of judging whether he could or could not go to war.

The clergy might have kept their record clear if they had made this teaching plain once and for all, even though they did it hurriedly and quietly. But it was left in the silence of the grave. They knew how troubled were many hearts, how tortured by doubts were many souls. Yet never a word was said for conscience and justice. Prudence, to be sure, urged caution on the leaders of the church. It is a very earthly prudence, but one that must be reckoned with; for the champions of the various creeds are always quick to take strategic advantage of any unpopular utterances on the part of their opponents. But can earthly prudence or human fear ever justify silence on a vital doctrine or belief? Deliberate silence on such a vital and fundamental point of morals as this of the personal and inalienable responsibility of every participant in war comes perilously close to rending the whole spiritual fabric. To say that the American people were convinced of the absolute justice of their cause does not answer the charge. The clergy must surely have known that the question of the part of the individual in a war is entirely apart from the merits of war as a whole. The individual fighting even on the side of right may, by improper reasoning and undue compliance with the views of others, in the sight of God be wrong. It is the explicit doctrine of all the churches, indeed of humanity, that life is a sacred thing and that it is nothing less than murder to destroy it on a whimsical or careless judgment.

Unfortunately, the same blindness or timidity in face of their high calling that characterized the attitude of the leaders of religion during the recent orgy of blood characterizes their present attitude toward many grave questions on which they should speak. Certainly if there is a representative clergyman who believes the doctrine above outlined, he should raise his voice in aid of the conscientious objectors still confined in prison. These young men did only what the ancient Catholic doctrine obliged them to do. They felt in their hearts that they could not kill their fellow men for the reasons cited by our Government, and they manfully submitted to punishment. The military and the laity may treat them as cowards, but does this justify the clergy in deserting them?

Is it possible that the clergy were afraid during the war and are afraid now to proclaim their creed? Has fear taken possession of our leaders? The crown of the martyr undoubtedly awaited the prelate or minister who dared cry out, for the teaching of the Catholic theologians runs directly counter to the principle of our new laws. The Department of Justice certainly convicted men for spreading views about the draft less obstructive than this. It is almost unthinkable, however, that religious leaders would hesitate on a grave matter because they might, if they spoke, lose reputation or place.

In the Driftway

AS Kate O'Hare wrote from her cell in Jefferson City, the two unpardonable sins among prisoners were held to be kindness and laughter. The Drifter wonders if kindness and laughter are not generally regarded as dangerous by the authoritative mind. A sense of humor is a sustaining possession in these days, but this divining-rod of inconsistency, of paradox, of hypocrisy, this disarmer of hatred and fear, is apt to fall under suspicion as a concealed weapon. Kindness is even more apt to become enmeshed by the law. How else would Anita Whitney of California be facing imprisonment of from one to fourteen years?

* * * * *

OTHERS were as interested in the formation of the Communist Labor Party as Miss Whitney, who can hardly be called a radical and who all her life has been opposed to violence. Other women are as public-spirited and a few may have served their State as well. Others have followed her lead for suffrage, have worked with her for education and for prohibition, have befriended the Negro as intelligently, have denounced vice as fearlessly. But the kindness of her heart betrayed her. Had she not gone bail for the I. W. W. would her high position have been assailed?

* * * * *

THE Drifter has not observed many of his fellow-citizens using the Golden Rule as a starting-point instead of a goal. It has been one of Miss Whitney's idiosyncrasies to seek justice in our courts for poor as well as rich, till it has become almost a habit with her to furnish bail for the unfortunate. Yet now that she is branded with the strange new crime of criminal syndicalism, she scorns to let her worldly possessions make intercession in her own behalf. The Golden State has indeed grown miserly of its treasures that it can afford to lock in its strong-box one of its noblest and most unselfish daughters.

* * * * *

NOTHING is better calculated to make a man prefer his home to his club than to be put on the house committee of the latter. To be a member of the house committee means that one is subject to those very duties and trials that he flees to his club to escape. As well tend furnace, pay bills, fire the cook, and do other jobs about the home as perform these self-same duties at your club. In making his annual report (and submitting his resignation) a chairman of a house committee said recently: "I used to come to this

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club and enjoy it, but since I've had this job I've spent my time here looking over accounts, settling rows, and listening to kicks. I've had to keep tally on the food and count the dishes, and every time one has dropped I've heard it. I'm ready to hand over the job to anyone who will take it." The Drifter sympathizes with this feeling as he does also with the spirit that must have led to the following notice that he saw posted the other day on the bulletin board of a large city club: "The House Committee requests members to communicate with them only *by writing*, so as to leave them free to enjoy the privileges of the Club, as members."

* * * * *

OF course members of house committees are not the only persons who have to spend their time listening to growls, trying to excuse inexcusable things, and smoothing out wrinkles generally. There is, for instance, the steamship purser. His business is to make bad food taste good; to make cramped bunks feel spacious; to convince passengers that in spite of rough weather, poor service, and high rates, they are having the finest voyage of their life on the most splendid vessel of the best-managed company in the world. The purser must explain the unexplainable and make two and one make four. He must pour oil, not on the troubled waters, but on the disturbed passengers. He must be a super diplomat in ability and a near saint in patience. Which reminds the Drifter of a remark made by a man who is the head of a coastwise navigation company and was a member of the United States Shipping Board during the war. It was in the days when President Wilson was note writer in general to the world, and when even those who disagreed with the President conceded his skill in exposition and his aptness of phrase. The steamship official in question had just finished reading a statement from the White House. His eyes kindled with admiration, and turning to a friend he said enthusiastically: "That man can explain anything. He's wasting his time as President; he ought to be a purser."

* * * * *

CASTING his eyes over the pages of the London *Daily News* recently, the Drifter chanced upon the following advertisement in the "Personal" column:

> WANTED. A PRIME MINISTER, must be honest, sober-minded, and reliable; a good knowledge of English History and a general knowledge of European History essential; also a sound knowledge of men and affairs. No encumbrances of political or social nostrums. Preference given to a plain, blunt man, who is no orator. References as to past experience and character required.—Applications to Box 50, 67, Fleet-st.

That is one way to select a head for the Cabinet; another is to appoint Bainbridge Colby. THE DRIFTER

In a Cemetery

By MAHLON LEONARD FISHER

These prisoned ones, of whom we say, "They sleep,
Knowing nor dusk, nor dawn, nor hint of noon,
Unheedful grown if it be late or soon,
Seeing the gate so high, the grave so deep—"
Are they oblivious, after all, of sweep
Of autumn airs which riot in bright guise,
With robes now chrome, now dipped in scarlet dyes;
The summer's lure; the laggard clock-hands' creep?
Comes never knowledge here of rude mischance,
Nor inkling of those woes the World's great heart
Must bear, because encloistered and apart?
Do these, still thrall of Time and Circumstance,
Ne'er lift appealing hands and wearily plead:
Haste Thou the Day when we may sleep indeed!

The Puppet-Booth

By LESLIE NELSON JENNINGS

Now is the time, I think, to put aside
The toy-box and the mimicry; to see
What painted puppets rule Reality,
What grown-up dolls, grotesque and solemn-eyed,
Keep house in cardboard. It is time to play
The games *they* know and be *their* toys awhile;
To strut and posture, squeak and kiss and smile
Till, scarred and broken, we are laid away.
How strange they are, how passionless and grave!
And if they love us we can never tell.
We dance to serve their pleasure, make a brave
Show of the little tricks they know so well;
While One among them, white with winter, seems
Too old to care—who mumbles, nods, and dreams.

Alchemies

By DAVID MORTON

What curious economies are wrought
In these half-lighted chambers of ourselves,
Whose crowded channel passages are fraught
With witless gnomes and blind, alchemic elves!
In some molecular, red-shadowed cell
They wrangle or dispute, or else agree—
And we pronounce that we are ill or well,
According to that secret, hid decree.
How should we prate of good or evil things,
Since these chemic counsellors prepare,
Unwittingly, the lot of men and kings?
What tiny disagreements may declare
Red storms of war for Helen and her time!
What sweet accord may tremble into rhyme!

Gloria Mundi

By JOSEPH L. FREEMAN

If there are shadows in my eyes, or tears—
So much love dies in the human heart,
And so much blessed beauty disappears
Through the lost terminals where things depart.
O aching loveliness of earth, stand still!
Do not fade as a dream fades in the night,
Or as a bird, dipping behind a hill,
Drops the immediate splendor of its flight.
Loiter forever in the tender ground,
The deep cool grass, and the warm sunlit places;
Tall trees and idle waters; and the sound
Or winds at dawn; the light of happy faces.
Stay, shining benediction, lest we be
Like dark ships crying on a sinking sea.

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WESTERN NEWSPAPER UNION.

WARNS NATION OF RED PERIL

U. S. Department of Justice Urges Americans to Guard Against Bolshevism Menace.

CALLS RED PLANS CRIMINAL

Press, Church, Schools, Labor Unions and Civic Bodies Called Upon to Teach True Purpose of Bolshevist Propaganda.

Washington.—Calling for the patriotic support of all true Americans in its fight to protect their homes, religion and property from the spreading menace of Bolshevism, the United States Department of Justice has issued a warning against the insidious propaganda of the "Reds" during the new year. It reads:

"It would be extremely helpful to the cause of good government, the maintenance of law and order and the preservation of peace and happiness in our country if the people on this New Year's day would resolve to study, understand and appreciate the so-called 'Red' movement. They can counteract it most effectively by teaching its purpose through the press, the church, the schools, patriotic organizations and labor unions, all of which are within the range of its insidious attacks

"Red" Theories Criminal.

"The 'Red' movement does not mean an attitude of protest against alleged defects in our present political and economic organization of society. It does not represent the radicalism of progress. It represents a specific doctrine—namely, the introduction of dictatorships the world over by force and violence. It is not a movement of liberty-loving persons, but a distinctly criminal and dishonest movement. Lenine himself made the statement at the Third Soviet Conference, 'Among one hundred so-called Bolshevists there is one real Bolshevik, thirty-nine criminals and sixty fools.' It advocates the destruction of all ownership in property, the destruction of all religion and belief in God. It is a movement organized against Democracy and in favor of the power of the few built by force. Bolshevism, syndicalism, the Soviet Government, sabotage, etc., are only names for old theories of violence and criminality.

Russian Labor Crushed.

"Though their adherents in this country are advocating and fomenting strikes, Lenine and Trotsky forbid strikes, and trade unions are being broken up and completely subordinated to the will of the few demagogues in control in Russia. This Bolshevist experiment on the living body of the Russian people has not proven in any sense of the word an experiment in Democracy. The Bolshevist leaders frankly repudiate democratic principles as we understand them. It has been a gamble which meant for Russia, and, indeed, for the whole of humanity, enormous losses in lives as well as in material resources. The Bolshevists have run up a colossal bill which the Russian workmen and peasants will have to pay.

"Reds" Menace America.

"Having lived at the expense of the Russian people for two years, these speculators in human lives and other people's earnings are trying to move to new fields to the east and to the west, hoping to take advantage of the economic distress and confusion of mind in which humanity finds itself after the terrific strain of five years of war.

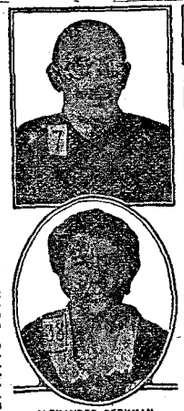
"Its sympathizers in this country are composed chiefly of criminals, misfakers idealists, social pigots and many unfortunate men and women suffering with varying forms of hypersesthesia. They are enemies of the government, of the church and of the home and advocate principles which mean the abolition of all three of these safeguards of civilization.

Would Rob Everybody.

"Twenty million people in this country own Liberty Bonds. These the 'Reds' propose to take away; 9,630,000 people in the United States own farms and 3,633,000 more own homes, which they would forfeit; 11,000,000 odd people have savings accounts in savings banks and 18,000,000 people have deposits in our national banks, at which they aim. There are hundreds of thousands of churches and religious institutions, all of which they would abolish. In other words, 110,000,000 hard-working and saving people who own property, love liberty and worship God are asked to abandon all the ideals of religion, liberty and government, which are the outcome of the struggles of their fathers and their own development, and to place themselves, their homes, their family and their religious faith in the keeping and their property under the domination of a small group of Leninos and Trotskys.

Protection Promised.

"This department, as far as existing laws allow, intends during the forthcoming year to keep up an unflinching, persistent, aggressive warfare against any movement, no matter how cloaked or disguised, having for its purpose either the promulgation of these ideas or the excitation of sympathy for those who spread them. The movement will not be permitted to go far enough in this country to disturb our peace and well-being or create any widespread distrust of the people's government. It will fall away before the light of popular knowledge and appreciation of its aims and purposes."



ALEXANDER BERKMAN, and EMMA GOLDMAN, Deported by U. S. Department of Justice as Leading Spirits in Communist Plots.

RED PAMPHLETS YANKS SPURNED

Poison Propaganda to Russian A. E. F. Revealed by U. S. Secret Service.

Extracts from pamphlets, published by the English-speaking Communists in Russia, and distributed among the American troops in the North—now in the possession of the U. S. Department of Justice.

"Comrades! Drop this dirty work. Turn your guns on your real enemies, the sweaters and capitalists.

"Come with us in the far sobler struggle to establish the triumph of labor the world over.

(Signed) N. LENIN."

"East and Central Europe is aflame with the revolt. The exploiting class has in some countries fallen, and in others are on the point of falling. The dawn of the day of Labor's emancipation has come!"

"You have arms. You know how to use them. Will you, like slaves, use them in defense of your master, or will you use them to help your class be free? If the former, then you know that you will meet with determined resistance of the united revolutionary people of East and Central Europe, and History will be your judge. If the latter, then here's a hearty welcome into the ranks of international labor."

"We want you to understand that every country in the world—including your own—can become a socialistic state, a workman's country, if only it follows the Russian example. Every nation in the world—including the Yankee race—can become a really free nation, if it only does away with the trusts, the money lords and the irresponsible exploiters. It is up to you American soldiers to do it! It is up to you to bring the great lessons of the Russian Revolution home to your toiling and suffering brothers. It's up to you to start it there—in your own America, you just start it—and your brothers will follow you! Yes just dare! You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain.

"You just dare to take home with you the Red Banner of the Revolution—and inscribe upon it:

"Down with capitalism!
"Long live Industrial Freedom!
"Long live Socialism!"

"You probably would let us alone and go home, if your officers would let you. But they do not intend to let you do so. You are under their orders, and they are under the orders of 'higher ups,' and those are under the orders of "still higher ups," etc. At the top of the whole pile are the wealthy capitalists who want to get their greedy hands upon the mines and factories, railways, etc., of Russia. That is the reason you are here to rob workingmen and make millionaires richer.

"We know that you are bound, hand and foot by discipline and have been in blind ignorance of what you were doing here or why you came. The only way that you can do the decent thing is by breaking the discipline that drives you to this crime against your own kind, the working class.

"The war is over. There is no longer reason for you to submit to military orders. You are not fighting 'German militarism.' You are submitting to it when you obey the commands of your own officer.

"You can break away. We know that you can, for we did. You are powerful enough and numerous enough to arrest the officers or to do with them what you please. Or you can come over to us."

GIVE THE AMERICAN BLUEGRASS A SHOW

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TO "CONQUER AND DESTROY STATE," U. S. COMMUNISTS CALL FOR LABOR REVOLT

Revolutionary Pamphlet, Found in U. S. Department of Justice Investigations, Gives Message of Communists in Chicago to Russian Headquarters.

Extracts from "Manifesto and Program—Constitution—Report to the Communist International" by the Communist Party of America, Chicago, Ill.

Communism does not propose to "capture" the bourgeoisie parliamentary state, but to conquer and destroy it. As long as the bourgeoisie state prevails, the capitalist class can baffle the will of the proletariat.

In those countries in which historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against Capitalism.

The older unionism was based on the craft divisions of small industry. The unions consisted primarily of skilled workers whose skill in itself a form of property. The unions were not organs of the militant class struggle. To-day the dominant unionism is actually a bulwark of Capitalism, merging in Imperialism and accepting State Capitalism.

The proletarian revolution comes at the moment of crisis in Capitalism, of a collapse of the old order. Under the impulse of the crisis, the proletariat acts for the conquest of power, by means of mass action. Mass action concentrates and mobilizes the forces of the proletariat, organized and unorganized; it acts equally against the bourgeois state and the conservative organizations of the working class. Strikes of protest develop into general political strikes and then into revolutionary mass action for the conquest of the power of the state. Mass action becomes political in purpose while extra-parliamentary in form; in its equality a process of revolution and the revolution itself in operation.

The Communist Party is the conscious expression of the class struggle of the workers against capitalism. Its aim is to direct this struggle to the conquest of political power, the overthrow of capitalism and the destruction of the bourgeois state.

The Communist Party prepares itself for the revolution in the measure that it develops a program of immediate action, expressing the mass struggles of the proletariat. These struggles must be inspired with revolutionary spirit and purposes.

The Communist Party is fundamentally a party of action. It brings to the workers a consciousness of their oppression, of the impossibility of improving their conditions under capitalism. The Communist Party directs the workers' struggle against capitalism, developing fuller forms and purposes in this struggle, culminating in the mass action of the revolution.

The Communist Party shall make the great industrial struggles of the working class its major campaigns, in order to develop an understanding of the strike in relation to the overthrow of capitalism.

(a) The Communist Party shall participate in mass strikes, not only to achieve the immediate purposes of the strike, but to develop the revolutionary implications of the mass strike.

(b) Mass strikes are vital factors in the process out of which develops the workers' understanding and action for the conquest of power.

(c) In mass strikes under conditions of concentrated capitalism there is talent the tendency toward the general mass strike, which takes on a political character and manifests the impulse toward proletarian dictatorship.

In these general mass strikes the Communist Party shall emphasize the necessity of maintaining industry and the taking over of social functions usually discharged by the capitalists and the institutions of capitalism. The strike must cease being isolated and passive; it must become positive, general and aggressive, preparing the workers for the complete assumption of industrial and social control.

(a) Every local and district organization of the Party shall establish contact with industrial units in its territory, the shops, mills and mines, and direct its agitation accordingly.

(b) Shop Committees shall be organized wherever possible for the purpose of Communist agitation in a particular shop or industry by the workers employed there. These committees shall be united with each other and with the Communist Party, so that the party shall have actual contact with the workers and mobilize them for action against capitalism.

The Communist Party must engage actively in the struggle to revolutionize the trade unions. As against the unionism of the American Federation of Labor, the Communist Party propagandizes industrial unionism and industrial union organization, emphasizing their revolutionary implications. Industrial Unionism is not simply a means for overthrowing wrongs against capitalism; its ultimate purpose is revolutionary, implying the necessity of ending the capitalist parliamentary state. Industrial Unionism is a factor in the final mass action for the conquest of power, as it will constitute the basis for the industrial administration of the Communist Commonwealth.

(a) The Communist Party recognizes that the A. F. of L. is reactionary and a bulwark of capitalism.

(b) Councils of workers shall be organized in the shops as circumstances allow, for the purpose of carrying on the industrial union struggle in the old unions, uniting and mobilizing the militant elements; these councils to be united in a Central Council wherever possible.

(c) It shall be a major task of the Communist Party to agitate for the construction of a general industrial union organization, embracing the I. W. W., W. I. L. U., independent and secession unions, militant unions of the A. F. of L., and the unorganized workers, on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle.

The Communist Party shall encourage movements of the workers in the shops seeking to realize workers' control of industry, while indicating their limitations under capitalism; concretely, any movement analogous to the Shop Stewards of England. These movements (equally directed against the union bureaucracy) should be related to the Communist Party.

The unorganized unskilled workers (including the agricultural proletariat) constitute the bulk of the working class. The Communist Party shall directly and systematically agitate among these workers, awakening them to industrial union organization and action.

"OVERTHROW WORLD ORDER!" CRY COMMUNISTS

Manifesto of Communist International, Seized in U. S. Department of Justice Raids, Tells "Reds" Own Story of Their Plans for World Wide Plunder.

Extracts from "Manifesto of the Communist International—Adopted by the Congress of the Communist International at Moscow, March 2-6, 1919, and signed by Comerades C. Rakovsky, N. Lenine, M. Zinovjev, L. Trotsky and Fritz Platten."

Alongside the dethroned dynasties of the Romanoffs, Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs, and the capitalistic cliques of these lands, the rulers of France, England, Italy and the United States stand revealed in the light of unfolding events and diplomatic disclosures in their immeasurable vileness.

Spurning the half-heartedness, hypocrisy and corruption of the decadent official socialist parties we, the Communists assembled in the Third International, feel ourselves to be the direct successors of the heroic efforts and martyrdom of a long series of revolutionary generations from Babeouf to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. As the First International foresaw the future development and pointed the way; as the Second International gathered together and organized millions of the proletariats, so the Third International is the international of open mass-action of the revolutionary realization, the international of deeds. Socialist criticism has sufficiently exhumated the bourgeois world order. The task of the International Communist Party is now to overthrow this order and to erect in its place the structure of the socialist world order. We urge the working men and women of all countries to unite under the Communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won.

Proletarians of all lands! In the war against imperialistic barbarity, against monarchy, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, against all forms and varieties of social and national oppression—UNITE!

Under the standard of the Workingmen's Councils, under the banner of the Third International, in the revolutionary struggle for power and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, proletarians of all countries UNITE!

The revolutionary era compels the proletariat to make use of the means of battle which will concentrate its entire energies, namely, mass action, with its logical resultant, direct conflict with the governmental machinery in open combat. All other methods, such as revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism, will be of only secondary significance.

The indispensable condition for successful struggle is separation not only from the direct servitors of Capitalism and enemies of the communist revolution, in which role the Social Democrats of the Right appear, but also from the Party of the Center (Kautskians), who desert the proletariat at the critical moment in order to come to terms with its open antagonists.

The growth of the revolutionary movement in all lands, the dangers of suppression of this revolution through the coalition of capitalistic States, the attempts of the Socialist betrayers to unite with one another (the formation of the Yellow "International" at Berne), and to give their services to the Wilsonian League; finally, the absolute necessity for co-ordination of proletarian actions—all these demand the formation of a real revolutionary and real proletarian Communist International. This International, which subordinates the so-called national interests to the interests of the international revolution, will personify the mutual help of the proletariat of the different countries, for without economic and other mutual helpfulness the proletariat will not be able to organize the new society.

Inimitable are the sacrifices of the working class. Their best—Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg—they have lost. Against this the proletariat must defend itself, defend at any price. The Communist International calls the entire world proletariat to this final struggle.

DOWN WITH THE IMPERIAL CONSPIRACY OF CAPITAL!
LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLIC OF THE PROLETARIAN COUNCILS!

Moscow, March 2-6, 1919.

WHAT REDS WOULD HAVE US SING

—From I. W. W. Songs—Seized in Red Raids of U. S. Department of Justice.

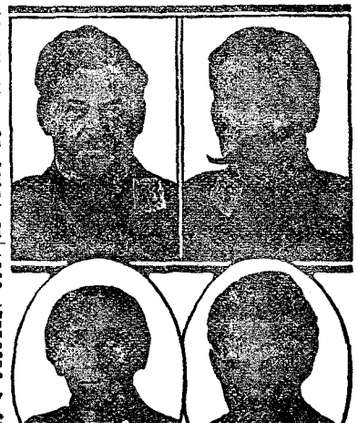
One day on I am playing
A message of cheer came to me,
A light of revolt was shining
On a country far over the sea.
The forces of rulers to sever
And the day of the earth be unfold
To secure our freedom forever
And a world of beauty untold.

We have lived in such subjection
Form ages of toil and despair,
To comply with the plutes' ambition
With never a thought nor a care.
An echo from Russia is sounding
'Tis the chimes of a True Liberty,
It's a message for millions resounding
To throw off your chains and be free.

CHORUS.

All hail to the Bolsheviki
We will fight for our Class and be free,
A Union, Blue Card is the motto
Which you are
You're feeling of interest to you;
If you don't like the red flag of Russia,
If you don't like the spirit so true,
Then just be like Enright in the story
And lick the hand that's robbing you.

MEN LIKE THESE WOULD RULE YOU



TYPES OF COMMUNIST AGITATORS DEPORTED BY U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

ADOLPH SCHNABEL, Leader of Union of Russian Workers, a powerful anarchistic organization in America.

JOHN DUBOFF, Active organizer of Communist group in Elizabeth, N. J.

ALEXANDER SCHATZ, Leader of Communist group in this Country.

NICHOLAS MICHAILOV, Violent agitator among anarchists in America.

MORE PALMER PROPAGANDA

Facsimile, reduced in size, of a page offered free to country newspapers at the expense of the Department of Justice. See editorial paragraph on page 285.

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Correspondence

Labor and the National Grange

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In "Labor and the Farmers" (Lincoln Colcord in *The Nation*, January 3, 1920) is found a clear-cut analysis of one of the most misunderstood of situations, so interesting and so accurate, in the main, that a single and very unfortunate inaccuracy therein deserves to be called to attention and corrected; not in any way reflecting on Mr. Colcord's fairness, but rather as an effort to add to the discussion of the underlying philosophy of the farmer-labor situation, and make even more plain than Mr. Colcord has done the essential and unanswerable reasons why there is no ground for agreement between real farmers, and the present leadership of organized labor.

The inaccuracy referred to is in the following statement made by Mr. Colcord: "When it is remembered that three of these farmers' organizations, and the National Grange as well, were already on record in opposition not only to the Plumb plan and other radical labor measures, *but also to the organization of labor per se*, the transparent mummery of such proceedings will be manifest."

The italics are mine, to call attention to a most unfortunate statement. Not only are the large farmer organizations, the National Grange and others, not opposed to the "organization of labor *per se*," but they favor such organization of labor as well as of farmers for their mutual protection and welfare up to the point where radical leadership leads away from the true American principles.

Let us get this clear in our thinking—it is not organization *per se* of labor or of consumers or of producers or of middlemen or of manufacturers or of bankers, or even of socialists or anarchists—in the true meaning of this much misused word—to which there is opposition. The opposition of all good citizens lies to the using of such organizations to promote un-American, and un-economic propaganda and activities. The present serious and outstanding example of this—the activity against which the whole power of the National Grange is ranged—is the activity of a certain part of union labor to put into effect a labor control of essential industries, which will make the whole public subservient and tributary to one small, compactly-organized class. This, we take it, is un-American, and we know it is economically unsound. It will wreck our form of government while it wrecks our prosperity.

Washington, January 20 A. M. LOOMIS

Mr. Palmer's Propaganda Factory

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You publish in *The Nation* of February 14 a letter from the Attorney General under the horrified caption "What is Attorney General Palmer Doing?" and indicate that you think that he is trying to regulate public opinion and that in sending out the letter he is not exercising any of the legitimate functions of his office. Will you permit one of your readers to state what he thinks Mr. Palmer is trying to do?

It would seem to me that he is trying to do something to counteract somewhat the influence of parlor Bolshevist organs, the logical outcome of whose efforts would enthrone in the United States an American gang of thugs and cutthroats of the Lenin-Trotzky order. Except that the rest of us would have to suffer with them, it would serve these parlor Bolshevists right to have this come about. One of the first results would be the suppression of these near Bolshevist journals, if they exercised one-hundredth of the freedom of speech they now enjoy and use.

More strength to the Attorney General's arm!

Washington, D. C., February 19 GEORGE F. BOWERMAN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I wish to ask you a few questions with regard to the editorial "What is Attorney General Palmer Doing?" in the February 14 issue of *The Nation*. Does that office deprive Mr. Palmer of his civil liberties: free speech, free thought, or the publication of his thoughts? Hasn't the Attorney General the right to do with his leisure time whatever he wishes as long as his acts are not criminal—to edit a magazine, or influence the editors; to propagandize? Has not he just as much right to do those things as you have?

If his communication to that editor was false and full of misrepresentations, the falsehood should be exposed, but if it is the truth it cannot be too widely published. The Attorney General is rendering humanity a great service, and your criticisms are antagonistic propaganda. Anyone at all familiar with radicals knows that some of them are radically good, peaceful, constructive humanitarians and that there is also a radical element radically bad, criminals or so inclined, destructive, disturbers of the peace, haters of all restraints, the very worst element. In this, at least, Palmer expressed the truth.

Jersey City, February 19 AMELIA MAXSON

[*The Nation* grants to Mr. Palmer the right to spread whatever propaganda he likes as an individual, on his personal responsibility, and at his own expense. It condemns him for engaging in such activity as Attorney General of the United States; for using the influence of that office, the time of its employees, and the money of the public in something that is no more authorized by law than would be the use of similar means to promote directly his Presidential ambitions.—EDITOR.]

Concerning Prohibitionist Measures

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The writer of the article, "Prohibitionist Methods," does not do himself credit when he complains of the rigorous enforcement of the dry amendment to the Constitution. If the dry law were poorly enforced it would soon get into disrepute, and many thoughtless people would be persuaded by the self-seeking liquor interests to clamor for its repeal.

It has been repeatedly demonstrated that alcoholic beverages are no benefit to an influenza patient, but are a positive detriment to him. Last winter the Doctors Mayo of Rochester, Minn., who have an international reputation, as well as the Surgeon General of the United States, warned the people against the use of liquors in influenza. How can an alcohol poison, that lowers the vitality of the human system, cure or be a preventive against a disease? Alcohol as a medicine belongs in the same category as bleeding and dosing with calomel.

Owatonna, Minn., February 18 A. H. MUEDEKING

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I make bold to call your attention to a mistaken impression given by the first paragraph of your otherwise admirable editorial on "Prohibitionist Methods." The case against the 18th Amendment is more serious than that of formal irregularity in the process of ratification, although this is to be, I think, one of Mr. Root's main contentions. That the 18th Amendment does not represent the wishes of the majority of usually law-abiding American citizens is clearly shown in the repressive and shameful measures to which the Internal Revenue Department has resorted, and the vast appropriations of money which Congress is called upon to provide for its "partial" enforcement. Is this not something very novel in constitutional history?

Secondly, the real, substantial case against the 18th Amendment is that it summarily annuls provisions of the existing Constitution with which it directly conflicts, but which it does not specifically repeal. Furthermore, if this so-called Amendment remains peacefully where it is, then the door is wide open

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to all kinds of radical and revolutionary changes in the Constitution, should any well-organized and heavily financed body of fanatics, by no means representative of the nation, wish to make such changes.

Baltimore, February 20 C. J. A.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You are fighting a man of straw. The Prohibition party you attack (i. e., the political party) had a very small share in the triumph of the Eighteenth Amendment. A number of organizations contributed to the triumph of national prohibition, and some of these organizations plan a world campaign against alcohol. The Anti-Saloon League, the W. C. T. U., the Presbyterian Board of Temperance and Moral Welfare, the Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals, and other societies are planning campaigns of education of sentiment against alcohol in the alcoholized nations of the world. Is there any valid objection to such campaigns that could not be made against all foreign mission crusades?

Mt. Dora, Fla., February 16 DUNCAN C. MILNER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Why hope that the Prohibitionists will refrain from embarking on their world campaign? You remember Greek tragedy: arrogance was the step just before madness and after madness came destruction.

The Prohibitionists, having reached the stage of and become impregnated with an arrogance the insolence of which grates on every self-respecting man, are now entering on the next inevitable stage—of madness—and embarking on what is only their natural course, with destruction—little to be lamented—not far off.

Cleveland, February 11 S. J. BECK

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: No one who has had even a minimum of experience with the lawlessness of the liquor traffic will question the wisdom of Congress in foreseeing that every conceivable effort would be made to evade the mandate of the Eighteenth Amendment. No interest can now be served, except that of the lawbreaker, in casting discredit upon the machinery which has been devised to protect the public from this species of lawlessness. Any reflection upon the Volstead act, at a time like this, even though not intended, is only pouring oil upon the flames which liquordom has started in an attempt to destroy the policy of national prohibition. As a matter of fact, many of the provisions of the Volstead act are mild in comparison with the laws which a number of the prohibition states have found it necessary to enact in order to demonstrate their mastery over the criminality of the liquor traffic.

The editor is unfortunate for his case in his references to the sale of liquors for medical purposes. The Volstead law specifically authorizes their sale under regulations which were mainly agreed upon by the druggists themselves. The revolt of druggists and medical men against carrying liquors, to which reference is made, is not due to any rigidity of the statute, but to the growing disuse of liquors as medicine. The American Medical Association on June 6, 1918, resolved "That the use of alcohol as a therapeutic agent should be discouraged." The writer had occasion only a few days ago to review the letters of a large number of the leading medical men of America, and only one claimed any value in the use of whiskey in cases of influenza. Most of the others positively condemned its use.

Does the editor think that we are in danger of having prohibition too well enforced? What an anomaly it would be for the country to adopt the policy of prohibition and then yield to the insidious propaganda now being carried on against its enforcement!

Richmond, Indiana, February 24 S. E. NICHOLSON,
Secretary and National Organizer,
Anti-Saloon League of America.

Fisci Mexicani

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In one of his finest speeches, Cicero tells us how twelve baskets of Sicilian silver were carried as boodle to Rome and how a boss senator distributed the money among the ward heelers for further distribution. This charming scene of Roman political life passes as a panorama before my eyes and makes me feel at home in both hemispheres. Sicilian silver is gone but Mexican silver has taken its place and is used for similar purposes. Annex Mexico today and a Verres will be there tomorrow, as well as a Hortensius to take him under his august protection, and a venal press to praise them both.

Hundreds of Mexican business letters have passed through my hands and I have no hesitation in testifying that the Mexicans were never more anxious to establish friendly relations with this country than at the present time. The Mexicans are busily engaged in developing their natural resources and orders for American machinery are constantly coming in. There are Mexicans in many American universities engaged in teaching their native tongue or lecturing on the greatest poet this continent ever produced—their fellow-countryman Don Juan Ruiz de Alarcón. But all these proffers of friendship and goodwill are of no avail so long as there are beasts at home—to use Benjamin Franklin's phrase—bent on sowing seeds of discord between the two neighboring countries.

Worcester, December 5 JOSEPH DE PEROTT

Achieving Americanization

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have been reading a great deal lately about Americanizing foreigners. About twenty-five years ago I lived in a mill-town in Pennsylvania. An alderman friend of mine used to collect rent for property owners. Evenings in his office when the foreigners were coming in to pay their rent, we, of course, talked about them. I asked if they paid their rent regularly. "Well," he would say, "they are all right for a few years until they get Americanized. Then you have to watch them."

Detroit, January 16 JOHN P. STOEBER

Humorists of the Hour

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your conception of the quality of humor in the headlines of the New York *Times*, as set forth in your editorial on "Humor and Headlines," reminds me of a German traveller in the United States who asked his companion for a typical American joke. When told of the farmer in Iowa whose feet were so big he couldn't get his boots off with a bootjack but had to use the cross roads, the visitor in his rude Hunnish way, and with no appreciation of the psychology of other people, exclaimed: "But dat's no choke; dat's only a tam lie."

But some American jokes are not lies. Bishop Burch ponderously and somewhat guardedly, saying "Tut, Tut," to Dr. Grant seems very humorous and at the same time very true. Governor Coolidge as a laconic philosopher is also humorous, but there he stands. Archie Stevenson, to those of us who remember his enthusiasm when he made the radical discovery that the Bible is partly allegorical, is now the greatest joke of all. But who denies the reality of Archie? What can be more real than a young lawyer, with meagre training and a meagre practice, riding into fame by finding what strikes the headliners? It's the stuff that movies are made of—vivid, gripping, real life. And with Archie's mental endowments you never raise the question whether he is sincere. You only know that he is eager, intense—and humorous.

New York, February 3. A. S.

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Literature

Historians of the World War

Histoire de la Grande Guerre. By L. Brossolette. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin.

Petite Histoire de la Grande Guerre. By H. Vast. Paris: Librairie Delagrave.

The Story of the Great War. By Roland G. Usher. The Macmillan Company.

Our War With Germany. By John Spencer Bassett. Alfred A. Knopf.

Civilization and the World War. By Anson Daniel Morse. Ginn and Company.

GIBBON'S sad saying that history is the record of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind has found ample illustration in the last five years. For never before was homicide so wholesale, destruction so dreadful, mischief so mighty. But even while our imaginations were fed full of horrors, we took this furtive compensation that we were witnessing the greatest spectacle ever staged in the world's arena. To the average spectator, and to many a participant, the war was a gigantic game, a prize-fight or a football match raised to the millionth power. And it is to this audience that most of the histories of the war that have yet been written will appeal.

With that competence of literary expression that is their birthright, two Frenchmen have offered short sketches of the struggle as a whole. Neither of them uses a superfluous or an unnecessary word. M. Brossolette, in particular, has confined himself to the barest outline, but he has endowed it with life and movement beyond the common. For him the cause of the war was simply that Germany willed it; she had economic and political reasons for precipitating the conflict, but above all she had a pride and hatred that impelled her to it. Naturally, the war seems to our author primarily a phase of the secular strife between Germany and France; the former hates the latter for "her delicacy and moral elegance" and for the wrong done by the Teuton to his neighbor. From the causes of the war, M. Brossolette passes on to the course of the battle, and here he makes the progress seem an inevitable and logical sequence of events. Given the first German repulse on the Marne, the rest of her frantic efforts follow a line marked out for her by the demands of an impossible situation. It is only the strategy of the war that M. Brossolette is really able to deal with. In his pages one may look in vain for any estimate of the numbers engaged, of the comparative resources of the belligerents, of the organization of the armies, of the new weapons, of the financial, economic, and social effects of the war. But he follows the diplomacy, and concludes with a pæan on the peace. President Wilson's Fourteen Points he regards as moral platitudes that no one would deny and no one would act on—in which estimate he seems, alas! to have been right. From his summary one would fancy that France, which was nearly ruined by the war, had made an extremely good thing of it. He specifies with satisfaction the enormous indemnity she will get, the increase of her colonial dominions and the acquisition forever of Alsace-Lorraine and of the Saar Valley. Not a word about the international mandate and the promised plébiscite, but the assumption that these arrangements are matters of no consequence!

M. Vast—symbolic name!—has undertaken to do in the same space much more than did M. Brossolette. In his little history one finds almost everything touched upon, the airplanes, submarines, and gas, the effects of the blockade, the military, naval, and diplomatic clashes, the Irish rebellion, the Russian revolution, the German change of government, the attitude of the neutrals, the numbers engaged in battle, and the material assets of the belligerents. Sometimes, indeed, his figures are not accurate, as when he says that 1,164 Americans perished on the Lusitania. But the extraordinary skill of his compression and coördination must be praised. Over against this merit he displays, with pride, what must be reckoned as a fault, his very extreme bias. The whole German people he thinks criminal; their democracy is mere camouflage to deceive their enemies, who should, none the less, keep their swords sharp and their powder dry. He derives the name of Prince Eitel, apparently not as a play on words but in sober earnest, from that of "Attila." He avows that his primary purpose in writing is to "inspire in the minds of good Frenchmen disgust with German culture." He rejoices in the revenge for 1870. He quotes, though he does not fully endorse, the French pun that "neutrals are good-for-noughts."

Unlike his rival, M. Vast is filled with enthusiasm for President Wilson. He calls him the man of the future and contrasts his position at the peace conference with that of Metternich at the Congress of Vienna. He fully approves the Fourteen Points, as Clemenceau interprets them, and praises their author for his life-long devotion to these ideals as shown in his making Princeton University truly democratic and in his biographies of Pitt and Gladstone! It is true M. Vast adds that "there may be a little illusion in his lofty and noble conceptions of justice," and that Clemenceau is nearer to earthly realities. But in the end it is found that the Fourteen Points cover all that could be asked in the punishment of a beaten foe.

It is a serious handicap to American history that much of it is now written to meet the needs of the immature mind, that is, for the college audience. Professor Usher has composed a "story of the war" in which the bright boy will find just what he wants, but in which the thoughtful man can grasp little to satisfy him. His whole outlook is far younger than that behind the mature and finished work of the French authors. With a vivid, rapid style, a broad interest in all the picturesque aspects of his subjects, and a firm determination to convict Germany and to glorify the Allies, particularly the United States, Professor Usher has been able to give rare zest to his tale of adventure. But it is that and nothing more—the hunting of a pirate, the desperate encounter with a melodramatic villain. There is something on the causes of the war, but not a word on the peace. The Hymn of Hate is reproduced in all its dreary length to show the rage of Germany against England *before* the war, and is so poorly translated that the Vistula is left as the "Weichsel." Puerile stories of German spies and of visions of angels and dead heroes on the field of battle do not add to the weight of the narrative.

A very different impression is made by Professor Bassett's history of the part America played. Carefully studied and judicially written, this book is sure to be one of the useful authorities. In a broad survey of the field, the only notable lack is a consideration of the economic effects of the war and of its financing. The tale begins properly in 1914; the studied effort of America to be neutral and the gradual shift of her sympathies to the Allies, the wanton provocations on the part of Germany, and the resulting war-madness of our people are well described. Then comes the immense effort of America, the costly failures of this and that detail of equipment and organization, and the still more expensive success of the program as a whole. The tale crosses the Atlantic with the two million soldiers sent forth, and with them sways back and forth in the majestic and terrible sweep of the armies across Northern France, until the final collapse of the German defense.

The story of the peace negotiations is related as far as the day when President Wilson laid the treaty before the Senate. The author, while endeavoring to be fair to all sides, apologizes for the treaty as conceived in the spirit of Wilson's ideals and twisted from them only so far as the bitter exigencies of politics demanded. He is surely wrong in saying that the opposition of the idealists to the treaty is of little weight. In the Senate this may be true, for *there* partisan and petty motives are all too prominent; but among the people it is not so. Had Mr. Wilson been able to carry through a really clean peace, he would have won strong and enthusiastic support both in America and Europe. And how the terms he actually made are crumbling to

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pieces already is plainer every day. The only moral element of the situation is the lesson drawn from the ruin itself, for after this, presumably, the king going to make war against another king will consult more carefully than ever whether with ten million he will be able to meet him that cometh against him with twenty million.

The war, which has produced many bad books and some good ones, has inspired very few that are beautiful. Among these few is that by Professor Morse, published posthumously by his family. These meditations are the ripe sheaf of a mind not original but thoughtful, set forth with the sweet reasonableness of the author's character and with just that faint suggestion of garrulity that is charming in an old and a good man. In this work one will find fine ethical precept, the best advice on child-training, and a noble conception of the subject of history, defined as "the perfecting of man." When the writer discusses the war there are no harsh or bitter words, but a moral choice none the less decided for all that. It is almost as if Lincoln were again speaking. And, though the author died before America entered the war, many of his warnings are fresh and needful today. Did he foresee the persecution of the Socialists when he wrote: "The suppression of the fundamental right of patriotic citizens to utter their thoughts freely and fully on what are to them the most important interests of their country is a deep evil, for public opinion cannot be justly formed without the unrestricted exercise of this precious privilege"?

PRESERVED SMITH.

Valery Bryusov

The Republic of the Southern Cross, and Other Stories. Constable and Company.

DURING the nineties Valery Bryusov played the *enfant terrible* in Russian letters, shocking the conventional, and serving as an inexhaustible source for the cartoonist and professional humorist. At that time few took seriously the author of the scandalously famous one-line poem:

O zakroy svoyi blyednyia nogi!
(O conceal thy pallid legs!)

It took Bryusov more than a decade to get rid of this unenviable fame, and to gain for himself an indisputable place among the foremost Russian poets. Today he stands condemned as an incurable "classicist" by Futurists, Ego-Futurists, Acmeists, and other Russian offshoots of Signor Marinetti. They abhor the metallic rhythm of his verse and his adherence to the form of Pushkin and Tyutchev and to the imagery of the best French Symbolistes.

It is a pity that thus far there have been no successful English translations of Bryusov's poetry, so akin to the poetry of his friend Verhaeren. He can hardly be gauged or judged by the collection of his stories recently published in English. His prose is dry, hard, laboriously chiselled, and wingless most of the time, even when it purports to express most fantastic dreams. It is a medium of a cold, calculating, imposing art. In his novels and tales, always interesting, always perfect in form and execution, Bryusov suffers from the disease common to such of his earnest compatriots as Merezhkovsky or Vyacheslav Ivanov, namely, from surcharge of erudition. Hence his appeal to our imagination or emotion is seldom convincing, in spite of the element of scientific probability present in most of his stories. We may actually experience the horrors forced upon our minds by Poe or V. de L'Isle-Adam, but with Bryusov we remain nearly always cold though curious observers, watching with delight his logical artfulness. How can Bryusov convince even the credulous and susceptible when he does not pretend to be convinced himself? He takes us into the unreal, painstakingly endows it with plausible realism, and when we are on the point of accepting with half-closed eyes the luring phantasmagoria, he rudely jolts us out of our trance and without bringing us back to actuality leaves us on the border of the indefinite. This is Bryusov's favorite realm—the indefinite. He shuns terra firma, clothes the unreal with actuality, pulverizes the actual into a phantom, and sways in the dim twilight created by his intellect.

No my dvoye stoyim v kolyhanyi tumanov
(In the swaying of mists, we stand)

he asserts in one of his most felicitous poems, The Rites of Night. Or as he says in the preface to his stories collected under the title "The Axis of the Earth":

"These stories are written to show, in various ways, that there is no fixed boundary line between the world of reality and that of imagination, between the dreaming and waking world, life and fantasy; that what we commonly call 'imaginary' may be the greatest reality in the world, and that which we all call reality the most dreadful delirium."

Bryusov's erudite fantasy feels particularly at home either in the remote past or in the Utopian future, though it easily works transforming miracles even in the industrial present. In the Republic of the Southern Cross, situated within the Antarctic Circle, the development of technology reaches its apogee. Machinery defeats the polar cold, machinery provides light, while all the industrial, political, and social affairs are conducted with machine-like precision and perfection. Then, when we are nearly convinced, it pleases Bryusov to strike his mechanical republic with an epidemic disease, *mania contradicens*, which gradually and persistently brings chaos into the deadly-perfect apparatus, and causes in the end mutual annihilation. From this madness-in-the-future, where people say "yes" when they wish to say "no," and hiss when intending to applaud, where physicians poison their patients, and engineers hurl their trains into precipices, we flee into the less complex past, into Rome of the sixth century. Rhea Silvia is the most human, the least mechanical story in the collection. Rome ruined and devastated time and again within a brief period, Rome of Alaric, Ricimer, Totila, and Byzantine eunuchs, a fantastic depopulated Rome, with shadows of the glorious past hovering over heaps of ruins, submerged palaces, and art treasures—in this Rome we willingly follow the half-demented Maria into a subterranean palace, the Golden House of Nero, and there at the foot of an ancient bas-relief representing Mars making love to Rhea Silvia, the mother-to-be of Romulus and Remus, we dream her mad dreams until Bryusov mercilessly destroys the illusion with a touch of historical realism. Mad is also the girl in The Mirror who loses her mental balance from constant observation of her reflection. She confuses in the end her real self and her "double" in the glass, and for a time imagines that the two have shifted their identities and places. The story is written with intense subtlety, with bewildering nuances of the real and unreal, of the sane and insane. Still more subtle and bewildering is the final story, In the Tower. The author sees himself in a dream, a Russian hostage in the castle of a Teutonic Knight some time in the thirteenth century. The circumstantial realism of the dream is complicated by the fact that in his dream the author is aware of being in a state of dreaming, which consciousness gives him courage to defy the ruthless knight and to champion boldly his native land. The dream breaks off, the author rejoices at being awake, in his modern room, surrounded with familiar objects, and at being in position to record his nightmare. Yet here is the concluding paragraph of the story:

"But a strange and dreadful thought quietly arises from the dark depths of my consciousness. What if now I am sleeping and dreaming—and I shall suddenly awaken on the straw, in the underground dungeon of the castle of Hugo von Rizen?"

Valery Bryusov belongs to the group of Russian thinkers and artists that have stood aside from the political and social movements in their country, the group of mystical anarchists, religious seekers, Parnassians, and Post-Parnassians. He lives in a tower, removed from the noisy street, detached from tangible realities. True, Bryusov has echoed contemporary events, recording his attitude to revolution and war in the cycle of poems called "Contemporariness." His name is even linked

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today with Lunacharsky's areopagus. But his reaction to the drama of the present is cold and aloof, consistent with his credo expressed in the poem, To the Poet:

Vsevo bud holodny svidyetel,
Na vsyo ustremlyaya svoy vzor.
Da budet tvoya dobrodyetel—
Spokoyno vzoyti na kostyor.

(Of everything be a cold witness, directing thy eye everywhere. Let thy virtue be—calmly to ascend the pyre.)

ALEXANDER KAUN

Interpretation of the Bible

Prophecy and Authority. By Kemper Fullerton. The Macmillan Company.

THE genial Old Testament professor at Oberlin has traced in his interesting, vivid, and luminous way the great lines of the history of the interpretation of the Bible in the Christian church in this valuable little book. Though he is interested in predictive prophecy, it is really only as an illustration—the most significant one, it is true—of the fundamental changes that have come into the interpretation of the Bible as a whole. His dominant interest is larger; it has to do with the authority of the Scriptures. He is concerned about the growth of millennianism in our days, but he knows too well that it cannot be overthrown by direct attacks, since it rests on a basis which is so different from that of the modern scientific interpretation that the two have no common ground for effective argumentation. It is the fundamental assumption that must be shown to be untenable. After the foundation has been removed, the collapse of the superstructure is inevitable.

Now this is done most skilfully by showing from history how the various methods of interpretation arose, were historically necessary, and gave way to others until finally the Protestant principle was enunciated and, after severe struggles, established. Early Christianity, accepting the Old Testament from the Jews as authoritative, simply had to use the argument from prophecy in its propaganda among Jews and Gentiles in order to prove the divine origin of the Christian religion. The Old Testament was of primary interest to these early Christians solely because it contained so many prophecies which were shown to have been fulfilled in Jesus. Those that had not been fulfilled were referred to the Second Advent. The common method of interpretation in those days was the allegorical, which was quite naturally adopted by the Christians also, and the whole Old Testament was allegorized. This involved, of course, the theory that the prophets did not always understand what they said, neither did their contemporaries, for their words were less for their own generation than for the Christian dispensation. But in view of this enigmatical character of the prophecies, how could the Fathers be sure that they had the true interpretation, especially when their opponents denied it? By appealing to oral tradition. The Apostles by virtue of their inspiration knew the correct interpretation, and this had been handed down in the apostolic succession of the bishops. The general councils, and in the Western Church the Pope, alone were the authoritative interpreters of the Bible. When Martin Luther rejected this dogma of the supreme authority of the Pope and of the general councils, he set up the Bible as the sole rule of faith and practice. This involved the claim that it was no enigmatic book, but one which every true believer could understand. This meant the rejection of the allegorical method of interpretation and the establishment of the grammatico-critical method, according to which each sentence of prophecy has only one meaning which can be understood by the historical situation in which it was written. "It is necessary," wrote Luther in his Preface to Isaiah, "if one will understand the prophecy, to know how it stands in the land, what events transpired, what the people thought, what the relationships were which they sustained to their neighbors, friends or foes, and especially what their attitude was toward their God and toward his Prophets." Unfortunately, this fundamental principle of true exegesis was lost in the dogmatic struggles of Protestanism. The dogma of the sole authority of the Bible was coupled with the dogma of the infallibility of its contents, text, and canon. Typology was introduced into exegesis and the Reformation principle of interpretation was given up. But in the inspiration controversies the issue was joined between a historical and a dogmatic interpretation of the Bible.

Today the historical is everywhere in the ascendancy. There is only one meaning to a sentence; the writers wrote for their own day in words intelligible to themselves and their hearers and readers; their text had the usual fate of all ancient texts—they were not miraculously preserved from deterioration; their ideas were not infallible either, for the writers were men of their own day with corresponding limitations, although they were inspired to give the message of God. The Bible is, therefore, not an infallible book. The prophets were not always right, but frequently mistaken in their predictions. The New Testament writers share this human frailty and are not infallible authorities of interpretation. And yet this book is still the Book of Books! One who has the courage to give up the dogma of the infallibility of the Scriptures and to read the Bible like any other book in order to find out just what it says, will discover that in spite of its errors and shortcomings it is still the book of life, full of inspiration and power, still leading men to God, still kindling the fire of spiritual life within men's souls as they come in contact in its pages with the life of God in prophets and poets, in the apostles, and in Christ Himself.

JULIUS A. BEWER

Experiments

Evander. By Eden Phillpotts. The Macmillan Company.
The Inscrutable Lovers. By Alexander MacFarlan. Dodd, Mead and Company.
Pirates of the Spring. By Forrest Reid. Houghton Mifflin Company.

THESE three books are all experiments in the endlessly plastic form of the novel, and they were all imported in sheets from England, which proves that their publishers did not think them destined to a very wide popularity here. The publishers are probably right. Yet all three are of uncommon distinction, and one of them, "Pirates of the Spring," is a book that will make its way quietly and far from the market-place and will be heard about in the days to come.

Occasionally the novelist likes to emerge from the mood of impersonality and tell us quite directly what he thinks about man and nature and human life. Mr. Arnold Bennett writes sprightly essays; even the late Marion Crawford had his philosophical hour and wrote "With the Immortals." "Evander" is Mr. Phillpotts's confession of faith. He puts that confession in the form of a fable which again he disguises as a rather human story of Italian villagers in the days of Caracalla. But behind the villagers stand the ruling gods of their several devotions, and through these gods Mr. Phillpotts expresses his sense of the eternal conflict. His philosophy is a very practical and humane one and culminates in a direct and set argument between Bacchus and Apollo. Bacchus is, quite clearly, the representative of tolerance, kindliness, and insight—a good cosmic liberal; Apollo is the austere, rigid, self-indulgent idealist of the conservative type. Bacchus is not at all sure that he knows what is absolutely right and true for everybody; Apollo is quite sure that he does. So naturally Bacchus is merciful and Apollo is all for the use of his unerring arrows. But the inscrutable Father, as Bacchus reminds him, did not look at all kindly upon that little affair in the matter of Niobe; he makes out an admirable case—to which the imperturbable absolutist's self-

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worship quite blinds him—for the poor children of that tragic woman. Nothing could be more penetrating or useful than such reflections. The trouble with the book is the same as with all of Mr. Phillpotts's books—a lack of felicity which is not compensated for, as it is in the case of his master, Hardy, by a dour grandeur. "Evander" particularly needed grace and there is none. The author felt the need and scattered verses up and down the little volume. But the verses are almost pathetically cramped and gritty.

Mr. William Heinemann discovered Alexander MacFarlan and predicts great things for him. "The Inscrutable Lovers" is Mr. MacFarlan's second book and he is said to be very young. It is a very modern sort of youth that is his. His perceptions are very sharp, but his nature seems wintry. The book is a study in contrasting temperaments. The contrasts are very clear. They are indeed too clear and their edges are too glittering. People are not as simply made as all that. There is Margaret Kettle, daughter of a chuckle-headed Irish idealist. She has always been forced to play the game of romance. But her real nature is as substantial as pudding. She wants ordinary decency and conformity and happiness. She declares that she could have loved a grocer ("just any grocer"), and she does indeed marry Charlie Magail, son of the Glasgow shipowner, out of hand. But poor Magail, tied to a stool in his father's counting-house, has lived an inner life of romance, yearns for adventure, nurses heroic gestures in secret, and adores Margaret—the magnificent Count Kettle's daughter—for all that she is not. The climax comes, of course, when the lovers find each other out. The story is told not directly, but as it was pieced together from hints and meetings by the friendly Jesuit father who watched over Margaret. It illustrates once more the wide influence which the technical discoveries of Henry James have had on talents so different from his own.

Mr. Forrest Reid's technical innovation consists in his knowledge of the fact that to give a story about human beings any beginning but birth or any end but death is in itself an artifice and a convention. The flow of life is ceaseless; no climax is pure; happenings and feelings glide into each other like the hours that hold them. So Mr. Reid takes up the life of his adolescents on a day like any other and drops it on an equally undistinguished one. There is no progression in the story except such as belongs to the slow ripening of the boys' characters as the months slip by. The narrative is of a singular though very quiet beauty—a beauty gained partly by the writer's marvellous closeness to his subject, partly by his cool tenderness, partly by his sense of the almost pagan interpenetration of nature and the lives of his characters. There is, besides, no intrusion of any external vision. The psychology is kept scrupulously on the adolescent plane. Hence, though the boys are supposed to be not very remarkable, and Beach Traill is insistently treated as commonplace, there exhales from every page the keen poetry of the one period of life when poetry and reality have some chance of being one. One may have met Evan Haves, though rarely. But Palmer Dorset with his incorruptible mind and unemotional fastidiousness, and even Beach Traill with his deep, instinctive insights are almost outside of one's experience. This may be partly the artist's vision. But Mr. Reid has an unmistakable air of fondness for truth and for the light of common day.

Books in Brief

NOT "sugared sonnets among his private friends," but bittersweet meditations among his private subscribers is Mr. George Moore's latest phase. The alternatives that have presented themselves to him are to cease writing or to retire into a literary arcanum; for after bearing as best he could the steadfast persecution of his writings during more than forty years, he has found the effort to have "The Brook Kerith" interdicted, and the more recent libel suit brought against him by a British army officer, intolerable. True, the magistrate refused to issue a warrant against the novel, and the jury brought in a verdict of no libel; but Mr. Moore considers that these legal triumphs are no sufficient compensation for the proffered insults and has withdrawn himself into the dignified twilight of a literature written and privately circulated, not for Grub Street, not for scientists or sportsmen or young girls, but for men and women of letters. In view of the above-mentioned legal justifications and of the price at which he is able to sell his strictly limited editions, the reason given for his action may seem a trifle disingenuous. The first result of this new departure is "A Story-Teller's Holiday." The holiday is passed in Ireland, and the principal recreation during the sojourn there is a series of conversations with a picturesque "shanachie" named Alec Trusselby. Alec has two possessions: a wonderful blackthorn club, which he calls "the Murrigan," of such vigor that when its owner is off his guard it sometimes goes to the fair by itself, "and she'll be breaking the head of some poor chap out of sheer light-heartedness and divilment"; and the gift of story-telling. A number of his tales are set down, with the running comments of Alec and Mr. Moore. Their directness and simplicity illustrate the theory advanced by Mr. Moore elsewhere that the true distinction between the romantic and the classic in art is this: that the romantic is art as it issues from the folk, and that the classic is the product of culture. Of the matter of these tales little need be said. To call them obscene would merely please Mr. Moore. Long ago, in "The Confessions of a Young Man," he recorded "two dominant notes in my character—an original hatred of my native country, and a brutal loathing of the religion I was brought up in." These notes are quite audible in the tales that he has taken down with such zest from Alec's lips. What should perhaps concern him more as a literary artist is that these stories of monks and nuns are so wearisome, so long drawn out. The writers of ancient *fabliaux* that delighted in the same sort of subject were at least crisp and never tedious. This entire set of tales, though of some interest as examples of the kind of anti-Catholic, semi-legendary scandal that runs riot in Ireland, is not worth the little anecdote of Dostoevsky with which Mr. Moore repays Alec for his lengthy labors.

THE general reader will find a little information and a little entertainment in the enterprising compilation of Professor C. Alphonso Smith, "New Words Self-Defined" (Doubleday, Page). "New Words *Undefined*" would perhaps be an exacter title. The compiler intends that the meaning of the words shall be inferred from the illustrative citations. But where the meaning has not already become familiar through frequent use the passages often fail to make themselves clear. There are numerous bits of instruction concerning technical devices and military practices which made their first appearance in the late war, and of course we find words representing the new national and international social and economic ideals. In the case of difficult and quarrel-breeding words like *Bolshevism* and *soviet* the weight is thrown in favor of popular misconceptions and against scientific accuracy. In this connection the writer confuses Bolshevism and Menshevism with Maximalism and Minimalism, being unaware that the latter couple is used to distinguish sections of the Socialist Revolutionists and not Social Democrats. We do not suspect Mr. Alphonso Smith of selecting his words with a partisan bias, but we find it curious that our leader in the war is represented by his use of expressions so alien from our ideals as *neutrality, peace without victory, too proud to fight, watchful waiting*, and, as if to cap the climax of irony, *self-determination*, while the vigorous Americanism of his opponent strikes the vibrant chords of sympathy with denunciations of *pussyfooting, Chinafication*, and *weasel-words*. As a book for readers with an amateur interest in language, the compilation may be somewhat mischievous because of its indiscriminateness of inclusion and the absence of critical clues. We find here

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many words from the French *argot* which do not even touch the surface of English speech, and individual caprices like *bulletize* and *bus* (in the sense of *airplane*) alongside of expressive coinages which have gained general acceptance among the men in the ranks. We do not see what great need there is for explaining in a book like this *chef de bataillon, Collège des États Unis, community secretary,* and *first to fight,* or to include the Hebrew *shofar* and the Russian *Zemgor* merely because somebody happened to explain the words to English readers. A few of the comic mispronunciations of French and Belgian place-names are recorded, but with such points the bulk of the volume might have been enormously swelled, though we cannot see why Eatables (Étaples) should have been included and Veal Chapel omitted. Students of language would have preferred to find explanations of the origin and force of a number of the new words. We need not look through a millstone to account for the invention of *blimp* and *blinger,* but is *gimper,* "a bird who would stick by you through anything," a product of the same irresponsible humor? *Hoosgow,* meaning *guard-house,* certainly tempts one to seek an intelligible genesis. Why is a soldier who has not seen service a *John,* and what and why are *Leathernecks?* We are somewhat surprised to find here words of such hoary antiquity as *batman, canteen, funk, gin* (trap), *grouse* (to show terror); and even *dough-boy* (an infantry soldier) and *dum-dum* (bullets) have for some years had their place in reputable dictionaries.

ONCE when Sherlock Holmes was confronted with an unusually difficult case, the faithful Watson suggested that the crime might be due to some ghostly agency. "My dear Watson," replied Holmes with his unequalled common sense, "we must exhaust all other hypotheses before resorting to that of spirits." Could we not introduce Sir Arthur Conan Doyle to this eminent detective? Sir Arthur's latest book, "The Vital Message" (Doran), shows that he needs sane and expert advice, for he is now as ready to believe in spirits as Watson; in fact, readier. He is so burning with faith in "Modern Spiritualism" that he regards it as "far too big for a new religion" and "the most important development in the whole history of the human race, so important that if we could conceive one single man discovering and publishing it, he would rank before Christopher Columbus as a discoverer of new worlds, before Paul as a teacher of new religious truth, and before Isaac Newton as a student of the laws of the universe." In fact, communion with the dead is so thoroughly proved now that "incredulity means either culpable ignorance or else imbecility." One would feel a little surer of Sir Arthur's testimony as to spirits and mediums and photographs of ghosts if he were a little more cautious in his treatment of ordinary mundane affairs. History and scholarship are quite beneath his careful attention. If he attributes the guilt of St. Bartholomew to Francis, it is either because he has not read the chronicles or because he thinks Francis was present in spirit. His alleged science explains the whole New Testament in a most startling way. Why did Christ groan when he went down into the grave of Lazarus: This record is said to have puzzled all commentators (it has not), but "anyone who has heard a medium groaning before any great manifestation of power will read into this passage just that touch of practical knowledge which will convince him of its truth." On what principle did Christ choose his apostles? Evidently because they were "psychics," some of whom, like Judas, are bad characters. The three booths which Peter proposed erecting on the Mount of Transfiguration were plainly intended "one for the medium and one for each materialized form." If we knew our New Testament aright, we should say "manifestation" for "miracle," "high spirit" for "angel," "direct voice" for "voice from heaven," and "he became a clairvoyant" for "he saw a vision." Why did Christ stoop and write in the sand on one occasion? Of course, because he had the power of automatic writing and was seeking guidance from spooks. Why did the spirit come with a great wind at Pentacost? Why, because it often does, witness Sir Arthur. In the light of the new spiritualism the causes of the Great War are apparent. It was to awaken the world from its torpor of skepticism, "pink teas and Saturday night drunks." The world to come is as plain to the psychic as is this world. It will be just like this life, only without its "physical side," unpleasant and, in some cases, pleasant. All will be saved in the end, even demons, to whom we should adopt a Christian attitude and for whom we should pray as for our own lost brothers.

THE new volume of Constance Garnett's translation of Chekhov, "The Bishop and Other Stories" (Macmillan), does not contribute significantly to our appreciation of this writer. The six sketches which comprise the first half of the book are in his simplest manner. They may at first appear to have a certain distinction in that they all treat of religious figures or religious experiences, but after all it is with the fundamental human elements that Chekhov is concerned, here as everywhere else. The great principle in the art of this Russian is to illuminate not only the ordinary sympathies of men, but their unlooked-for depths of sentiment, of aspiration and of degradation, where they lie concealed under some unpromising or misleading exterior. In the title-story, where the feeling penetrates every pore of the characterization, his success is complete in revealing the pathos of the humbly born bishop, whose elevation has withdrawn him from the familiar affections which his simple heart yearns for. Sometimes the method of Chekhov is to portray a mean or repellent surface, then suddenly to remove the cover, as it were, and expose to view some altogether unexpected susceptibility—the poetic sensitiveness of the ferryman in Easter Eve, the true understanding of charity in the debased priest of The Letter, the agonies of self-respect in its struggles against squalor in The Nightmare. Sometimes, as in The Murder and Uprooted, the illumination is not strong enough to light up the body of his sketch, and in these cases the general effect is hard and cold, with the ghastly pallor of a meaningless realism, for it is only the constant pressure of the spirit that can give life to these undramatic, actionless outlines. The Steppe, which fills up the second half of the book, shows Chekhov at his weakest, betraying, like his other long tales, a flagrant want of constructive skill. It reads like a series of detached impressions gathered in a note-book during a journey over the Ukrainian steppes, recording with a poet's eye the varying moods of the landscape and describing with characteristic insight the people who might be met on the way. There is much excellent writing in it, but the organic bond seems to have been an afterthought none too felicitously adapted to the material.

"SONGS of the Cattle Trail and Cow Camp" (Macmillan), by Professor John A. Lomax, is less important than the same editor's "Cowboy Songs and Other Frontier Ballads," published some years ago. The earlier collection included only songs and ballads that were, supposedly at least, the spontaneous product of the cowboys themselves; the present volume contains poems written for and about cowboys by men of more or less literary training. As Mr. Lomax frankly says, it is a by-product, made up of material that came to him incidentally, while he was engaged in his careful and scholarly collecting of the indigenous poems of the West. The difference between the real and traditional cowboy is measurably akin to that between the actual shepherd and the shepherd of pastoral poetry. Some of these pieces are clearly as spurious as are the seventeenth century lyrics of Strephon and Colin. That others are more true to life, and that some of them have been adopted by the cowboys themselves, may be due to two facts: the cowboys are by no means all illiterate and extensive traces of literary culture are seen in their own ballads; and in this age of realism even a newspaper poet strives for accuracy of dialect and of characterization. The editor reports, however, that in the process of oral transmission the cowboy often improves on the form of

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the poem that he adopts. In evidence he gives a version of Mr. Charles Badger Clark's "The Glory Trail," which in more than one passage shows clear gains over the original in vividness and picturesqueness, if not in smoothness.

THE untimely death of Emile Verhaeren deprived the British Academy of the privilege of hearing from the poet's own lips the 1917 lecture on Art in Relation to Civilization, which he had been invited to deliver before that body. So it fell to the Belgian Minister, M. Hymans, to read the manuscript, evidently unfinished, now finally published from the proceedings of the Academy. "An Æsthetic Interpretation of Belgium's Past" (Oxford University Press) is a sketch of Belgian civilization and art, written with a natural emphasis upon the rôle of France—or rather Burgundy—and the Church in fusing the diverse racial impulses of Fleming and Walloon, to produce therefrom a distinctive nation and a distinctive art. The cities of Antwerp and Bruges are discussed as representative of the sensuality and mysticism opposed in the work of the painters Rubens and Van Eyck; and Louvain serves as an illustration of the intellectual synthesis of these principles and as text for an indictment of those outrages upon his country's monuments whose weight, soon after, broke the poet's heart. Written in the darkest days of the war, this lecture breathes an ardent patriotism and an ardent faith in the ultimate liberation of Belgian soil from the heel of the invader, a consummation which Verhaeren was pathetically destined never to see.

WILLIAM H. DAWSON'S "The Evolution of Modern Germany (Scribners) and J. E. Barker's "Modern Germany" (Dutton) now appear in revised editions. The revision in both cases has been slight. Mr. Dawson, whose book is much the more substantial of the two, finding that his book as originally written "was no longer faithful to the facts," but aware that "any useful forecast of the new Germany . . . is as yet impracticable," has submitted his chapters "to such revision as has been practicable, special attention being given to statistical data, without hazarding fixed opinions upon questions which are still, and may long remain, *sub judice*." This wise restraint will give Mr. Dawson's work the same high value in the immediate future which it has had in the past. Mr. Barker's book was originally little more than a collection of occasional articles published in the English reviews. The pronounced opinions of the author, together with his penchant for making "forecasts" of an alarmist character, made the book popular. The present (sixth) edition has been, according to the author, "entirely rewritten and very greatly enlarged." The enlargement consists chiefly of eight chapters dealing with the period since 1914; but the rest remains, substantially, what it was. Mr. Barker writes with a considerable knowledge of Germany and with a degree of penetration of which the war has furnished many confirmations. A becoming modesty is not, however, one of Mr. Barker's chief virtues. Many of his articles, when they first appeared, struck one as having been written chiefly to remind the reader of what he had said in some earlier article, and to point out that "my forecast" has been wholly confirmed by events. The book is filled with interpolated extracts designed to prove that "forecasts" made before the war have been confirmed by the war. These extracts, nevertheless, when examined, do not reveal an uncanny omniscience after all. The "forecasts" usually take the form of one made in 1912: "*Possibly* the Government may try to escape from the critical domestic position . . . by engaging in a great war, which, *if it be successful*, would," etc. Neither divine inspiration, nor even any great merely human knowledge, is needed to make such guarded prophecies. The articles of Mr. Barker, when first published, were valuable and timely; as the substance of a book on modern Germany they leave much to be desired.

AS Vassar was one of the pioneer colleges for women and Dr. James Munroe Taylor was its president for twenty-seven years, from 1886 to 1914, the recently published volume of his "Life and Letters," by Elizabeth Hazelton Haight (Dutton), ought to contain much of interest concerning the development of the higher education of women as well as incidents and memories recorded solely for the benefit of the alumnae. It is a disappointment to discover that while many of Dr. Taylor's letters are given there are only occasional brief paragraphs in regard to his life and policies of education. One of the earliest letters, written when he was eleven years old, and at boarding school, requests piously: "When you send my trunk up here, please send my Bible in it," but he adds in a postscript: "How much can I have for spending money? I hope nine cents." The letters reveal a man of religious earnestness, of simple and kindly character. Many new college buildings were erected under his régime and a large endowment fund was raised, due in considerable measure to his personal effort. The teaching faculty, men as well as women, was greatly increased. The social organization of the college was also changed to meet new requirements. In 1909 he summed up his college policies as follows: "The meaning of the college as a place of liberal study for education in living and serving must be maintained; the undergraduate college has no place for propaganda from without, but all room for free discussion within its walls; academic freedom must be preserved as a condition for all search for truth and teaching of it, but in regard to the Christian character of a college, it may be suggested as a general truth, that whatever the rights of personal opinion, the right to antagonize directly the standard which an institution professes to uphold may be questioned as a matter of taste and as a matter of justice." One receives from the book an impression of a man greatly beloved, but the signs of a keen and vigorous mentality searching and probing new discoveries in science and tendencies in thought are less evident in his letters.

H. G. WELLS would have approved of "Organizing for Work" (Harcourt, Brace and Howe) in the days when he advocated engineering as a cure for the world's troubles, and before he discovered philosophy and history. Like Mr. Wells, the late H. L. Gantt, author of the book, confidently spreads out lofty stretches of political and economic theory, and ends up with a neat, specific remedy. He proceeds from broad theories to a concise cure by a rigorous chain of deductive logic. The community needs service first, regardless of who gets the profits; therefore, the business system must devote itself to service or the community will take it over to operate it in its own interest. The service or efficiency of a business should be determined by the performance of men and machines relative to their total capacity; therefore, ordinary cost-accounting must be reformed to show this relation. The basis of credit extended by banks prior to the war was tangible securities; during the war it was productive capacity, and such a basis is now needed for the community to take advantage of the country's productive capacity; therefore, cost and credit must both be determined from this new point of view, Again, industrial control is based on privilege rather than ability, and the development of industrialism is thus retarded; therefore, industry must become democratic; that is, when equal opportunity is secured to all, and when all reward is equitably proportioned to service rendered. Now Brigadier General Crozier, while Chief of Ordnance, employed a system of charts whereby both authority and responsibility for performance centered in his office, for the capacity of plants contrasted with their actual production was graphically represented. The charts were founded on these principles: "The fact that all activities can be measured by the amount of time needed to perform them"; and that "the space representing the time unit on the chart can be made to represent the amount of activity which should have taken place in that time." There we have it. Universal peace, industrial democracy, increased production, cheap money—these and many other desirable things can all be had if only the system of charts elaborated by Mr. Gantt is generally adopted.

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Drama

The One-Act Play in America

IN the stricter technical sense the one-act play, like the short story, is a modern invention. And even more than the short story do its restrictions demand a very high concentration of material and an economy of means so strict that its besetting danger is a spurious and loud effectiveness. But since precisely such effectiveness appeals strongly to the nerves of the average audience, the most successful one-act plays, those of Sudermann or of Alfred Sutro, have not always been the best of their kind. Strindberg's eerie acuteness of vision and Schnitzler's beautiful awareness of the dramatic life in hushed and muffled things have made the one-act plays of these two the best in the world. Such symbolical projections of a poet's highly personal sense of awe and mystery and spiritual values as Maeterlinck's "Intérieur" or Hofmannsthal's "Der Tor und der Tod" are lyrical in method, though dramatic in form, and hardly enter the question of the one-act play in the broader life of the theatre. There are isolated masterpieces such as Synge's "Riders to the Sea." Generally speaking, however, the contemporary one-act play will conform to one of the three types: the artificial, the psychological, the symbolist.

The narrow means and tentative beginnings of the experimental stages in America have made the one-act play important in the recent history of our theatre. Nowhere else has it held a quite comparable place. On the Continent cycles of one-act plays by a distinguished dramatist are presented whenever one has chosen that form of expression. Among us there has been a cult of the one-act play as such. In the hands of the Washington Square players this cult reached its highest point. Today, though it still persists, it is less intense. Our insurgent theatre is entering upon a robuster phase of its life. A bill of one-act plays by different authors, chosen partly to harmonize and partly to contrast, is after all a source of somewhat frail and artificial pleasure. The audiences, at all events, have commonly been a trifle self-conscious and have worn their sophistication with more pride than grace.

During the past ten years, however, the production of one-act plays in this country has been very large. It is a pity that one cannot also call it rich. But it did not need Miss Mayorga's extremely useful though somewhat fantastically edited volume* to tell us that rich is the one word with which to sum up all the qualities that the movement lacked. It was a movement which every one who cared for the theatre supported and still supports. But if his sanity was quite firm, or if he was in close touch with other things in the modern drama, he could never lose a sense of being in an artistic atmosphere that was supposed to be keen but was only thin. It was astir with a bustle of aspiration. But the gusts were quick and a bit too explosive and died down in a little mist of staleness. The figure halts. And one is indeed embarrassed, in any critical description of these plays, by one's cordial sense of the talents and ambitions of certain immediate contemporaries and by one's clear vision of the lack that unites them all. Realists or romantics, sociological or poetic playwrights, they are all deficient in vitality, strength, and sap. The formula according to which all but three of the twenty-five plays in Miss Mayorga's volume seem to have been written is this: The one-act play is an admirable vehicle for advanced thought or delicate fancy or dramatic episode. Let us seek such a thought, fancy, or incident, use the approved methods, and offer the result to a little theatre. Nowhere is there a sense of that impassioned fusion of impulse and form which alone makes art; nowhere any evidence of the fire and compulsion of an inner experience. The exceptions are painfully few; two or three things by Eugene O'Neil, Theodore Dreiser's "The Girl in the Coffin," Bosworth Crocker's "The

* *Representative One Act Plays by American Authors.* Selected by Margaret Gardner Mayorga. Little, Brown and Company.

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Last Straw." These few are tragic and dramatic not only in gesture but in feeling; they were not written to be played but played because they had been written.

The symbolical plays are the most bloodless. They are either obviously and woodenly made, like Mr. Percy MacKaye's "Sam Average," or ineffectually and conventionally idealistic like Miss Hortense Flexner's "Voices" or Miss Alice Gerstenberg's "Beyond." The ideals are too correct, the sentiments too acceptable. Here is the central weakness. What these pieces lack is not skill or adroitness or good intentions. There is no free and self-sustaining personality behind them. The young Maeterlinck, Hofmannsthal, and Yeats had a vision unseen but by them, incommunicable except through their words. They had no philosophical notions in particular, no ideals for practice, no saws for conduct. But they had a personal vision of the mystery of life which burned away all other vision, darkened for the hour all other light, opened new vistas into the land of the soul. Without that there is no art, no literature, no drama. The day of the folk-singer is over. Nothing can justify the creative act today, as Gourmont eloquently pointed out, but personal vision. And that requires character, not in the current sense of technical blamelessness or an assent to common standards, but in the higher sense of daring to experience in order to transmute experience into ripeness, wisdom, beauty. The moral, for there is one, is this: Our young writers have been too much concerned with technique and too little concerned with their minds. The wide dissemination of technical instruction has persuaded persons to write plays whose inner equipment sufficed for a family letter. The published plays of the Harvard Workshop display the same emptiness and technical dexterity as the greater number of Miss Mayorga's exhibits. And here again the kinship of the one-act play with the short story is plain. Its composition has been taught. If it were more profitable, courses would soon appear in the curriculums of the correspondence schools. But the patter about learning one's craft does not apply to literature. What truly destined "maker" was ever silenced for lack of craftsmanship? True matter creates form. The only discipline the writer needs is self-discipline. His impulse must be like love or prayer. It is resistless or it is nothing. But how many of these contemporary one-act plays could have been left unwritten without causing their authors a moment's discomfort? That question both judges them and points the way.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN.

Music

The American Composer and Opera

ONE happy change wrought by the war has been that in our attitude towards American music. Nationalism is beginning to take the place of skepticism, and if occasionally it runs into chauvinism, it is merely the swing of the pendulum, and will eventually find its balance. This national movement, which is still in its incipiency, can not yet be compared to the renaissance of interest now going on in England, France, Spain, and Italy. As Mr. Edwin Evans has so aptly said, the problem of the first two countries has been to purge their music of certain foreign, parasitical elements that failed to reflect the English and French mentalities; while "the Spaniards, like the Russians, had clear ground upon which to build, and the Italians had to resist a native rather than a foreign despotism, that of their own operatic tradition." Our problems, on the other hand, have been quite different. The American composer has had no national traditions upon which to fall back, and the only indigenous material upon which he could build has been the folk tunes of two alien races, the Negro and the Indian. His art has therefore had to be a product of many cultures, subjected, of course, to his own somewhat crude environment. The result has been distinctive, but the process has laid him open

Why This Shift About Russia Overnight?

From the New York Times, Friday, January 16th 1920

"Britain Facing War with Reds, Calls Council in Paris; Allies to Arm Poles; London Sees Storm Coming—Semi-Official Statement Warns Nation Near East Is Astir."

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From the New York Times, Saturday, Jan. 17th 1920

"No War with Russia, Allies to Trade with Her; Blockade Suddenly Raised by Paris Council; Premiers Reverse tand."

"Paris, January 16—The Allies will reopen commercial relations with the Russians at once. This momentous decision was taken here late today and completely reverses the former Allied policy of a pacific blockade."

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to much violent criticism and misunderstanding. Nevertheless it has given us as many and varied types as Edward MacDowell, Ethelbert Nevin, and John Carpenter, to name only certain outstanding figures.

The American composer is never at his best in dramatic declamation. His style is essentially lyrical, and when he deserts it, he usually comes to grief. No stronger proof of this can be found than that furnished by the history of American opera during the last decade. It is a record of failures by gifted lyrical writers who essayed dramatic expression. Those few who succeeded at all, did so not so much because of the intrinsic worth of what they wrote, as because of the fact that they remained within their limitations. For instance, Cadman's opera "Shanewis," which ran for two successive seasons at the Metropolitan, was vastly inferior in quality and workmanship to the late Horatio Parker's "Mona," which, in spite of having won the $10,000 prize offered by the directors of that institution for the best American opera, lasted only one season. Yet Parker was a far greater musician than Cadman. His "Hora Novissima" was recognized as one of the most beautiful of modern oratories, and he had written much that was fine in smaller form; while Cadman's reputation was based chiefly on a few sentimental songs and the Indian themes he had used. But he was wise enough to fill his opera with pretty, if mediocre, lyrics. "Mona," on the other hand, was mostly declamatory, and so failed. Thus perished perhaps the noblest American operatic work yet produced.

It was undoubtedly the lyrical character of the music that brought success to the two new American operas just recently heard here: "Cleopatra's Night," by Henry Hadley, and "Rip Van Winkle," by Reginald de Koven, produced respectively by the Metropolitan and Chicago Opera Companies. Hadley based his libretto (which was badly made by Alice Leal Pollack) on Théophile Gautier's "Une Nuit de Cléopâtre." It tells how Meiamen, a chaste lion-hunter of the desert, becomes infatuated with Cleopatra, and dares to tell her of his passion. The queen, catching the flame of his ardor, and probably bored by Antony's absence, grants him a night of love and royal splendor on the condition that he die by poison at sunrise. Meiamen assents. The tale moves swiftly, and makes an ideal operatic libretto, as it affords innumerable emotional phases for the composer. Moreover, it lends itself readily to color and fantasy, and to incidental dances by the ballet. Of most of these opportunities Mr. Hadley took advantage. His is essentially a lyrical gift, and while it is not highly significant, it is fluent and pleasing. He gave some very lovely musical moments to the queen and her one-night lover—rôles which were sung better than they were acted by their respective interpreters, Frances Alda and Orville Harrold—and he furnished the ballet with some excellent music, in which he wisely refrained from too much pseudo-Orientalism. Moreover his instrumentation revealed an expert knowledge of the orchestra; so that the opera as a whole, while not epoch-making, was a distinct success and should continue to please.

On the other hand, one can not predict with certainty the future of the De Koven opera. It won a triumph in Chicago and a cordial reception here. Nevertheless, it was disappointing. One is sorely inclined to lay most of the blame on Percy MacKaye, the librettist. The story was not without its stage traditions. It had been utilized before in opera, and several successful dramatic versions had been made. It contained all the elements, including even the supernatural, for a real folk opera. Yet Mr. MacKaye seemed to miss most of them. The interview of Rip with Hendrik Hudson and his men, which Joseph Jefferson in his dramatic version wisely confined to a mere nodding of the head on the part of the ghostly crew, Mr. MacKaye makes noisy and communicative on both sides, thus robbing the scene of any thrill it might give. Rip he makes a cross between a lovable vagabond and a Pied Piper. He also introduces a new character, in Peterkee, the sister of that Katerina to whom Rip is betrothed when the story opens. Peterkee, whom we first meet as a tomboy, adoring Rip and always at his heels, remains faithful to his memory after twenty years, and consummates the romance by restoring him his youth by means of a magic flask given her by Hendrik Hudson during the memorable interview of twenty years before. The idea is good, but is never sufficiently developed to give any real emotional quality to the scenes, and consequently to the music. It is this want of development of any one theme that gives the work a fragmentary character. And although the composer has tried to cover up this deficiency with choruses and drinking songs and occasional lyrical outbursts, the music is not vital enough to atone for the libretto's lack of emotional interest. Nevertheless, the opera was warmly received; though how much of this was due to the splendid work of George Baklanoff as Rip, and Evelyn Herbert as Peterkee, how much to the score itself, and how much to the fact that Mr. De Koven had died so recently, it is difficult to say.

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International Relations Section

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Politics in South Africa

By M. B. H.

UNDER the Act of Union, the existing Parliament of South Africa comes to an end within a few months. General Smuts has said, in a recent speech, that he does not know when the next elections are to be; and as a hearer remarked, "If he doesn't know, nobody else does." Despite his uncertainty, the General has been and still is engaged in an exhaustive speech-making tour throughout the country; and it is fairly evident that the longer he can continue to exercise his persuasive oratory and personal charm, the longer he can put off the decisive date, so much the better for his party and himself.

There are at present in the South African Parliament four political parties: the South African party, which holds the reins of Government, and which, although composed mainly of Dutch-speaking South Africans, desires to retain the British connection; the Unionist party, which was formerly the official Opposition, composed mainly of Englishmen or English-speaking South Africans with an Imperialist bias; the Nationalists, equally strong in numbers with the Unionists, and comprised of the Dutch or Dutch-speaking South Africans, who wish South Africa to develop along purely national lines, and to become a republic; and the Labor party, a group small in number and divided in allegiance, some being very British in feeling, and others leaning toward internationalism and the I. W. W. Of none of these will the numerical strength be greatly altered by the elections; the South African party will probably lose a few seats to the Nationalists, and the Unionists will lose a few to the Labor party. Hence the next Parliament, failing an entire regrouping of parties, will consist of three groups almost equal in numbers, and some eight or ten Laborites. It is obvious that under such circumstances the Government cannot remain in office except through some form of coalition; and also that the policy of this coalition, and its constituent elements, will determine the trend of South African history for many years to come.

The position of the South African party has been weakened enormously since the Union took place in 1910, when it came into power. At that time it confronted a comparatively small Unionist minority and a handful of Laborites. But it speedily became evident that the elements composing the South African party were too heterogeneous, and soon too antagonistic, to work harmoniously together. Generals Botha and Smuts were moderate, cautious of utterance, proclaiming their Africanderism, but very anxious in no way to offend England. Two Natal elements, with two seats in the Cabinet, were, as they always have been, violently imperialistic; and their attitude exacerbated the feelings of the more extreme Dutch, who were irritated by the continual tacit assumption of their inclusion in an Empire which they had no reason to love. Relations became more and more strained until in December, 1912, came the inevitable rupture.

The question of South Africa's building a squadron for its own naval defense was being discussed in the House, and feeling ran high. General Herzog, speaking at a by-election, was reported as saying that "imperialism was important to him only when useful to South Africa; when not serviceable, he had respect for it from a distance, but, as a South African, he had little to do with it; and, when it was contrary to the interests of South Africa, he was a distinct enemy to imperialism. . . . What really lay behind the shouts of Empire was the interest of the great capitalists." Against this speech, Colonel Lenchars of Natal, Minister of Public Works, protested on the floor of the House, and he resigned when his protest brought no withdrawal from General Herzog. General Botha, faced with a difficult situation, himself resigned, and after an interval of two weeks re-formed his Cabinet without General Herzog. Naturally, at the next elections, General Herzog returned to the House as the leader of a definite party, bitterly opposed to the Government.

In the meantime, industrial disturbances on the Rand were increasing the unrest of the country; the Government handling of these did nothing to increase its prestige, while it added appreciably to that of the Labor party, which, had it not been divided against itself in 1914 and thereafter by the war issue, would have become a force to reckon with. That year, fateful for all the world, brought to South Africa the rebellion, an abortive affair which intensified immeasurably the bitterness between the two sections of the Dutch. General Beyers, Commandant-General of the Active Citizen Force, resigned shortly before its outbreak, and he, together with Colonel Maritz and General De Wet, led the operations. The Government, in its skirmishes with the rebels, used almost exclusively Dutch rather than English troops; and this, while undoubtedly wise from one point of view, made of the short struggle a terrible affair, in which members of the same family did often actually wound and kill each other in hand-to-hand conflicts.

Since then the vacillating policy of the Government, and the attitude of the *Cape Times*, have further embittered and alienated the Nationalists. Moreover, their deep distrust of General Smuts's "slimness," together with the fact of his having definitely, since his return from England, taken his stand against the republican movement, no less than the bitter personal antagonism between him and General Herzog, would render a coalition between the Nationalist and the South African parties difficult if not impossible. On the other hand, there is one possibility which might drive the Nationalists into the arms of the South African party; that is the possibility of an effort to reunite the South African party and the Unionists. The relation of these two parties during the war was highly artificial and extremely curious. Officially in opposition, the Unionists supported the South African party steadily during these five years on all war measures and on many that could not be so termed, simply in order to avoid a Government defeat. They both feared that a defeat would result in a Government dominated by the Nationalists, who were naturally either uninterested in, or hostile to, the part England was taking in the war. This position, which the Government was not slow to take ad-

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vantage of, became increasingly irksome as the years went on, and now no longer exists. Normally, the two parties are opposed on many points; notably on immigration and on an unimproved land tax. The Unionists consider that a country of vast extent and huge uncultivated areas, which contains in all a million and a half white inhabitants, is fairly crying out for immigrants. The South African party, on the other hand, believes that these immigrants would be mainly English, in fact as well as in sympathies, and would sway the political balance dangerously in one direction. On the land question the Unionists, mainly city dwellers, are naturally in favor of a tax on unimproved land, while the farmer supporters of the South African party, many of whom live contentedly on a small corner of their property leaving the rest to take care of itself, are as naturally opposed to it. All these facts militate against a coalition between the Unionists and the South African party; indeed, the immediate result of an attempt in this direction would probably be to swell the ranks of the Nationalists and complicate the situation afresh.

It is possible then that after the coming elections the South African party and the Nationalists may form such a party of common defense; but if they do they will have to drop General Smuts and Mr. Burton, Minister of Railways, both of whom are considered too "Engelsgesind"—Anglophile—to be acceptable to the Natonalists. A union between the more liberal Unionists—a clearly marked group—and the Laborites would also seem feasible, were it not that the latter have in all provinces except the Cape, which is the only one in which the colored people possess the franchise, identified themselves with a strong white Labor policy. Such a policy the "Corner House" or magnate element among the Unionists repudiates for reasons financial, and the liberal element for reasons ethical.

General Smuts, on the last day of the last session of Parliament, made an entirely characteristic speech which left the Unionists convinced that he favored a coalition with the Nationalists, and the Nationalists equally certain that he would join the Unionists. And there for the present the situation rests.

What Santo Domingo Wants

By KINCHELOE ROBBINS

WHILE dominating the sessions of the Peace Conference at Paris, Mr. Wilson, according to Ray Stannard Baker, busy as he was in his efforts to make the world safe for democracy, always found time to hear appeals for justice from the oppressed nationalities in Europe. Perhaps it was because of his devotion to the interests of small European nationalities that he had no leisure for matters nearer home. At any rate, when Dr. Francisco Henriquez y Carvajal, who is still *de jure* President of the *de jure* Dominican Republic, went to Paris expressly to present his country's case to Mr. Wilson, in the expectation that the League of Nations might extend its benevolent supervision to the western hemisphere, Mr. Wilson could not find time to see him.

When the President of the United States returned to America, Dr. Henriquez followed him. An attempt to arrange an interview with Mr. Wilson in New York having failed, Dr. Henriquez spent several weeks in Washington prior to the western speaking tour which ended with Mr. Wilson's illness. Pressure of public business made it impossible for Mr. Wilson to receive Dr. Henriquez in Washington at that time, so the Chief Magistrate of the erstwhile Dominican Republic decided to prolong his sojourn until Mr. Wilson completed his tour. While in Washington he got as far as the chief of a bureau in the Department of State, who suggested that he ought to present a brief setting forth the arguments of the Dominican people against the permanent occupation of their country by the United States. The brief was prepared and submitted, but brought no response. Dr. Henriquez lingered in the capital after the President's return until it became apparent that Mr. Wilson would be unable to transact any kind of business for many weeks, and finally returned to his home in Santiago de Cuba, where for many years he has been a leading physician.

Throughout his stay in the United States the Dominican President retained his confidence in the altruistic utterances of President Wilson, expressed great admiration and affection for the American people, whom he has come to know well during many visits to this country, and said that while his people knew that Americans had been too much occupied with war and the formulation of peace to think of Santo Domingo, he had too much confidence in their moral sense to feel the slightest doubt that eventually full justice would be done his country. From Washington he wrote this very temperate statement regarding his mission here:

> Our country proclaimed itself independent from Spain in 1821. On two occasions, in 1844 and 1865, it recovered its independence after foreign invasions. During the last twenty years, . . . through . . . representatives at the Hague Conference in 1907, in the Pan-American Congresses and in other international gatherings, we have coöperated in the rules concerning arbitration and all other principles leading to a better understanding among nations. Now, however, the Dominican Republic has been excluded from the League of Nations . . . without sufficient reason, in our opinion.
>
> At present, the Dominican Republic is under a military occupation by forces of the United States. A military government is in operation there, military law is applied to a large part of the activities of the people, and the freedom of speech and the press, as well as the right of assembly, have been suppressed. The *de facto* suppression of the sovereignty of the Dominican people began on the 29th of November, 1916. The Government of the United States invokes, in order to justify its act, a clause of the 1907 Convention concerning the foreign debt of the Dominican Republic. That clause, however, refers really to foreign debts only, and had not been violated. The only increase of the national liabilities since 1907 has been due to deficits caused by political disturbances, which means that such liabilities have a purely internal character. On the other hand, the lives and property of Americans in Santo Domingo have not suffered, foreigners never having been attacked by revolutionists there. And whatever may be said of the revolutions in Santo Domingo, the 1907 Convention said nothing about them, and no treaty has ever given the United States any right of supervision over or interference in the political life of the republic.
>
> As Constitutional President, duly elected by the Dominican Congress in 1916, I could not agree to the demands of the Government of the United States previous to the military occupation, much less to the occupation itself. The American intervention left the country without a native government. During the Great War it was evident that our claims could find no response. But when the Peace Conference was inaugurated, the time seemed ripe to present our case. No success, however, was obtained in Paris. At present we are presenting our case to the State Department here in Washington.

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With the termination of the war, the time has come to reorganize all the nations in whose political condition there may be any abnormal features. Therefore the return of the government of the Dominican Republic to its citizens ought to be effected. The Administration here seems unwilling to do so at present. In view of this refusal, our only means being persuasion and patience, we have suggested that the efforts of the American military government in Santo Domingo be directed towards a preparation for the reinstating of the national civil government. To that end, military law should be restricted to purely military matters, the people gradually given freedom and the practice of political activities, and a Dominican Commission appointed to formulate new laws for the future . . . such, for example, as a law providing for the organization of political parties, which would destroy the old groups united merely under personal leadership.

Misrepresentation of conditions in Santo Domingo appearing in the American newspapers, some of it obviously propaganda, seemed to distress the *de jure* President of the Dominican Republic more than the impossibility of getting a hearing in Washington. Early in October the New York *Globe* had a short article, apparently dated from Porto Plata, telling of the establishment of 600 elementary schools in various parts of the country, and asserting that prior to the occupation of the Dominican Republic by the United States Marine Corps, there were no schools anywhere for the poor and that the children of the villages were unable to go to school because the roads were infested by bandits.

It is possible, Dr. Henriquez points out, that 600 schools have been established, and that teachers have been employed at a low rate of compensation in accordance with the simplicity of life in the rural districts, but there have always been schools in the Dominican Republic; schools for instruction in all grades in the cities, both primary and secondary, and in the larger cities night schools and normal schools charged with the preparation of teachers for the elementary grades, the latter having been abolished by the Military Government.

His strong feeling on misrepresentation of educational matters in the Dominican Republic will be understood when it is recalled that he was at one time a professor in the normal school and director of the preparatory school, that his wife was the founder of the first normal training school for women nurses, that his brother, Dr. Federico Henriquez y Carvajal, has consecrated his whole life to public education, while the wife of the latter has been for twenty years director of a woman's college. The value of the training afforded in Santo Domingo City is attested by the fact that the President's eldest son, Dr. Max Henriquez y Ureña, is director of the normal school in Santiago de Cuba, and a second son, Pedro Henriquez y Ureña, is a professor in the University of Minnesota.

"Equally false," writes Dr. Henriquez, "is the statement that the children in my country are unable to go to school because the roads are infested by bandits. Banditry has never existed in Santo Domingo. There have been revolutionary bodies in times of political disturbances, but they never attacked non-combatants, much less women and children."

But while Dr. Henriquez grows indignant at what he considers wilful defamation of his country, his faith in the honor and justice of the American people seems to be as profound as his faith in the justice of his cause, and at no time, either in conversation or in his letters to friends, has he despaired of seeing his country free again.

American Rule in Haiti

THE status of civil rights in Haiti under American military domination is indicated in the document printed below, the text of which is taken without change from *L'Essor* (Port-au-Prince), for January 17, where it was printed in French and in English.

HEADQUARTERS; FIRST PROVISIONAL BRIGADE, U. S. MARINE CORPS,
PORT AU PRINCE, REPUBLIC OF HAITI, JANUARY 16, 1920

Citizens of Port au Prince:

On the morning of the 15th of January, bandits to the number of approximately 300 endeavored to enter your city under cover of darkness.

The bandits were promptly met by several Gendarme and Marine Patrols, driven from the city with a loss of over one-half their number, and forced to flee in a terrorized state, to places of assumed safety to await further opportunity to escape.

They were closely followed by Patrols, driven to the hills where they are still being successfully pursued, and now the plains of the Cul de Sac are entirely clear of bandits.

Rumors create an undue furore among non-military persons. On the morning of the 16th an uncalled for and absurd rumor of the presence of bandits was started by irresponsible persons, which rumor was unwisely spread throughout the city, causing unnecessary apprehension on the part of its inhabitants.

Citizens are cautioned not to repeat such rumors, and anyone found guilty of doing so will meet with just and summary punishment.

JOHN H. RUSSEL
Colonel U. S. Marine Corps

Deportation in White Hungary

THE methods of the present Government of Hungary are illustrated by the following decree concerning the "expulsion and internment of persons dangerous to the commonwealth or otherwise undesirable" taken from the *Pester Lloyd* of December 10.

The Minister of the Interior has issued an order to the Commander of the City of Budapest, to all authorities in control of Budapest municipal districts, and to the leading officials of all Hungarian municipalities. This decree, based upon the authorization passed November 17 by the Council of Ministers, provides as follows for the taking into custody and control of those menacing public order and safety, undesirable or suspect, as well as those deemed injurious for economic reasons:

All aliens and members of their households, whose continued presence in this land is detrimental to the interests of the state or of society, or to public order and safety, or who are dangerous, undesirable, or suspect, or whose conduct in the midst of our ruined circumstances is inimical to the aforementioned interests, are to be expelled from our territory or interned therein. Those included in the foregoing categories are to be taken into custody by the police, and their internment in another district, as well as their banishment, is immediately to be suggested to the Minister of the Interior. The inhabitants of the occupied areas are not considered to be aliens until the conclusion of the peace treaty.

Hungarian citizens who are subject to the aforementioned objections are also to be taken into custody from their temporary or permanent places of residence, and are likewise to be interned or expelled.

In the question of taking into custody, the decision (with the exception of each appeal), wherever it is within the sphere of the Budapest state police, rests with the Budapest High Commander; in the country the decision lies with the first official of the municipality, who shall act upon the advice of the police authorities heretofore mentioned; and and in case the ques-

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tion falls within the jurisdiction of the state police, the issue shall be determined by the High Command of the district involved. In the question of the expulsion or internment (with the exception of valid legal claims) the power of decision is vested in the Minister of the Interior. A report is to be made to the Minister of the Interior within 24 hours, relative to the ultimate internment or banishment of those taken into custody.

In the case of persons taken into custody (specifically, in the instance of those against whom a criminal or infringement proceeding is *sub judice*, due to their communistic behavior or economic undesirability, or those whose designation for internment the courts or the public prosecutor have ordered), it is the duty of the aforementioned police authorities to determine the income and financial status of such questionable persons and, in so far as the person's lawful property is not disclosed in its entirety or should any reasonable doubt arise indicating a negligence or infringement, it is the duty of such police authorities to confiscate such property.

In the case of an individual taken into custody, the person concerned may not retain any objects (except the essential clothing and underclothing); more specifically, weapons, money, or valuables are not to be retained. Should such objects be found in the possession of the person concerned, they are to be deposited with the competent police authorities. Confiscated money and valuables are to be deposited at the local bureau of taxation, and a report of such articles is to be submitted to the Minister of the Interior. Claims for indemnification for general necessary articles (in so far as they do not comprise confiscated objects) found in the possession of the alien taken into custody, should be made to the nearest agent of the Ministry for Alimentation. The confiscated money, together with the remaining articles of worth belonging to the interned person, is to be deposited at the nearest bureau of taxation.

The home of the interned person is at the disposal of the competent Housing Bureau for immediate requisition. General articles of necessity which are the property of interned Hungarian citizens, in so far as they involve no hoarding, are to be left in the possession of relatives who live permanently in the same household as the interned person. The same holds good for the home of such an interned person.

It is not permitted to alleviate the detained, interned, or expelled person's financial disadvantage which he may suffer through the official disposition of his property.

From the moment when such persons are taken into custody, they may send no telegram; they may not use the telephone; nor may they only conduct correspondence in exceptional cases and then only with the consent of and under the control of the police authorities. It is forbidden to these persons to associate with strangers, further than the inevitable contacts of their daily environment. Such association with other persons may only be allowed by approval of the official police and in extraordinary instances, and may be permitted only in the presence of the duly constituted authority, all conversations on such occasions to be conducted in a language understood by him.

The aforementioned police authorities must fill out in minute detail a comprehensive evidence sheet (with two copies) for all those who take advantage of these extraordinary police permits; one copy of this evidence sheet will be submitted to the Minister of the Interior; the other will be retained for purposes of public evidence. Enacted changes are to be recorded and simultaneously to be communicated to the Minister of the Interior. This clause is also applicable to all those who may not take advantage of the aforementioned permits, whose observation by the police is required by the state, by the police, or by economic interests. Finger-print records of interned persons are also to be made and are to be submitted to the Minister of the Interior along with the evidence sheets.

The transportation of persons interned by order of the Minister of the Interior must be effected, wherever possible, in groups, and indeed under police (or, in emergencies, under military) escort.

The persons taken into custody by the police authorities are liable to the jurisdiction of the permanent police authorities at their place of residence, while interned persons are subject to the jurisdiction of the director of the internment camp. The interned persons are to be used for suitable work. All those interned shall receive general care, the cost of which they are to cover from their own incomes or earnings. Only those incapable of working, who have no fortune or income, shall receive this care without indemnification.

The interned persons may live only in such houses in such districts as are specified by the Minister of the Interior, and these houses must be such as are adapted for locking-up at least during the night. It is to be arranged that members of such persons' immediate families shall be sheltered in the vicinity of the head of the family; the buildings concerned are to be such as can be locked from without at night. The district to which the Minister of the Interior sends such persons, according to the foregoing order, must receive those assigned to it and must coöperate in their shelter and care, and shall be appointed to see to their control and eventual guarding. The specified community shall further protect such persons against attacks and indignities and shall assure them humane treatment. The community shall treat such persons, regarding all measures of hygiene, as it would its own inhabitants.

The disregard of these orders, or of the execution of these orders by the authorities concerned, and furthermore, any acquiescence in their violation or miscarriage by false testimony, shall constitute an infringement, punishable by imprisonment up to six months and a fine up to 2,000 kronen. In case of failure to pay the fine, the duration of imprisonment may be extended three months. In case of a multiplication of these infringements, the total period of imprisonment may not exceed one year. The legal proceedings against the aforementioned infringements are restricted by a statute of limitations to one year, and the punishment is limited by a two years' statute of limitations.

An Appeal from Transylvania

THE following memorial by three Hungarian Bishops in Transylvania was printed in a supplement to the *Inquirer* (London) for December 13, 1919.

The Council of Five,

Peace Conference, Paris.

Sirs: We, the undersigned spiritual leaders of Hungarians in Transylvania, in full knowledge of our responsibility toward God and our fellowmen, and following the dictates of our conscience, raise our complaining voice. Hungarians in Transylvania and our (their) churches find themselves in an exasperating situation; we therefore beg of you to give us your hearing, trusting implicitly that the men chosen by Him who directeth the course of all history, to pass judgment of life or death on lands and peoples, will strive to fulfil their high calling in the spirit of justice and humanity.

Hungarians of Transylvania, our followers and brethren, have been ever since the Rumanian occupation took place victims of fiercest persecution and groaning under the effects of nationalist terrorism employing all the means of an unscrupulous supremacy.

Members of the civil service who, adhering to the written letter of the Hague Agreement and of the Belgrad Armistice, declined to take the Rumanian oath of allegiance as being unpatriotic and premature before the final decision of the Peace Conference, were dismissed. No pecuniary provisions being made they and their families were reduced to abject poverty. These highly respected, serious men were branded untrustworthy enemies of the state, thereby increasing the difficulties of their livelihood. They are even prevented from earning their living as common laborers, since people who out of compassion employed them or in some other way came to their assistance were as accomplices equally persecuted. . . .

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Civil servants born outside the occupied area are now at a most unfavorable time—the season for putting by provisions for the winter—forcibly removed with their families. Others again who, though born and residing within occupied territory, do not live in their place of birth but elsewhere, are ordered back to their native place; torn out of the soil in which by honest, life-long efforts they have taken root, and replanted where since childhood perhaps they have ceased to have any association. There their livelihood is not only not secured, but on the contrary made impossible by human selfishness, which general distress has so abominably increased. The treatment described here is meted out to everybody, particularly to widows and to the destitute. In large Hungarian places, especially so in Kolozsvar, all Hungarians who came to live there on and after July 31, 1914, are mercilessly ejected from their dwellings and Rumanians put in their stead. By this process Rumanians with might and main alter even the numerical proportion of the different nationals in Hungarian cultural centers. The respective decrees are enforced by fully empowered commissioners, who with their the-law-am-I kind of rule create conditions unheard of since the Thirty Years' War or the days of Russian deportation. . . .

Rumanians have initiated a political land reform, the correct fundamental idea of it being the expropriation of all large estates for the benefit of the landless peasantry. It so happens that in Transylvania estates exceeding 500 acres are almost exclusively in the hands of Hungarians, a considerable portion of them being owned by sectarian schools and other cultural trust funds. Under this scheme of expropriation ex-soldiers, who upon the call of the Rumanian Governing Council took up arms against Hungary, will be given preference and its enforcement under pretext of a social panacea will mean utter material ruination to Hungarians and have disastrous effects on their cultural institutions.

The same result is served by the forcible lease of property owned by ancient sectarian schools to Rumanian crofters at a ridiculously low figure, nullifying thereby indisputable private contracts which insured a good and certain rental to these institutions, forever struggling with monetary difficulties.

Rumanians have appropriated all government and municipal property. They are freely levying and increasing taxes without at the same time bearing the burdens connected with the lawful, special Hungarian interests. They have, for instance, withdrawn all Government grants to Hungarian churches, thus condemning to downfall the one and only place of refuge of Hungarians, and driving into destitution persons who are in the service of these churches.

They have taken possession of Government and municipal schools (as well as the sectarian schools which by contract are managed by the Government) inclusive of all appliances. The teaching staff, declining to take the oath of allegiance as being inopportune, was dismissed. A great number of these schools have had to discontinue teaching, as the discharged masters cannot be replaced, not even by setting aside accepted qualifications. Though the barracks have all been evacuated, still they requisition sectarian schools and other buildings for military and administrative purposes. Regarding this matter one example will suffice: the requisitioned rooms of the high school for girls (the only one of its kind owned by the Protestant-Calvinist Church) have been fitted up as a hospital—for syphilitic women.

Through inferior administrative officers, village-headmen, and constables, priests are forced to officiate at ceremonies inconsistent with church life and irreconcilable with priestly conscience. If by chance they decline to comply with any such order, they are imprisoned and in addition maltreated in a most inhumane manner. The number of Hungarian priests thus flogged and confined is increasing day by day.

Above all the air of public life is putrified by their fierce racial hatred, quite unparalleled in history. In purely Hungarian towns all Hungarian inscriptions were destroyed and by order replaced by Rumanian ones. Hungarians, under threat of severe penalty, are forced to display Rumanian national colors. They persecute the Hungarian flag, the Hungarian style of dressing, and the Hungarian tongue. There is no protection for such outrages. In Kolozsvar, Marosvasarhely, Brasso, and Deva they have destroyed and disgraced the monuments of Hungary's greatest national heroes and of her celebrated divines. In Marosvasarhely they have demolished the statues of Kossuth, Bem, and Rakoczi. In Deva they have broken to pieces the memorial of Bishop David, erected with the aid of donations from Unitarians all over the globe, particularly from England and America. . . .

We trustingly beg of you to appoint a permanent commission for Transylvania, with the power of making objective inquiries, and being unbiassed, possessing full authority to end that terrorism which today obstructs the path of all justice.

We have the honor to remain, Sirs,

Your obedient servants,

CHARLES NAGY, *Calvinist Bishop of Transylvania*
COUNT GUSTAVE MAILATH, *Roman Catholic Bishop of Transylvania*
JOSEPH FERENCZ, *Unitarian Bishop of Transylvania*

Events of the Week

FEBRUARY 23. The standing Currency and Exchange Commission in Germany has requested the Government to appeal to the Reparation Commission for funds from money Germany has already paid under the treaty in order to procure absolutely essential food supplies. Germany, they declare, is now threatened with the same impoverishment as Austria.

FEBRUARY 24. The Dublin curfew order, compelling all persons to keep within doors at night except with a permit, is being rigidly enforced, it is announced, as well as the counter order of "no lights" issued by the Sinn Fein Town Council.

FEBRUARY 25. In reply to a letter from United States Senator Berenger intimating that France was to cede the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe to the United States, Premier Millerand has declared that France has never contemplated ceding the islands to any country for any reason whatever.

The Government received a decisive defeat in the British House of Commons on a motion favoring an increase in pensions for policemen. The motion, opposed by the Government, was carried by a vote of 123 to 57.

It is reported that a recent debate on universal suffrage in the Japanese Diet broke up in a riot. The police had to be called in to restore order, and crowds outside tried to break into the building.

A dispatch from Moscow states that the returns in the Moscow elections show that of 853 Soviet members chosen, 762 are Bolsheviki, 27 are sympathizers with the movement, 54 are non-partisan, 9 are Mensheviki, and one is an anarchist.

FEBRUARY 28. An emergency loan of $7,000,000 has been made to China, one-fourth of the loan being subscribed by France, and three-eighths each by the United States and Japan.

FEBRUARY 29. It is reported that in the South Pacific Islands the Japanese have not only captured the German trade, but have almost completely superseded the British, whose business there formerly amounted to more than £200,000.

Resolutions were presented by the French Socialists to the National Socialist Congress at Strasbourg advocating the immediate overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Soviet system. This program has not been subscribed to as yet by the Congress as a whole, though the motion of the French Socialists to quit the Second Internationale has been adopted.

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Books of the Week

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

Campbell, Oscar James. The Position of the Roode en Witte Roos in the Saga of King Richard III. University of Wisconsin.—Waley, Arthur. Japanese Poetry: The "Uta." Clarendon Press.—Young, Karl. Ordo Rachelis. University of Wisconsin.

Bronson, Walter C. A Short History of American Literature. Heath.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Clark, E. C. History of Roman Private Law. Part 3, Regal Period. Cambridge University Press.—De Kubinyi, Victor. Mr. Man. The Author.—Fox, Early Lee. The American Colonization Society 1817-1840. Johns Hopkins University Studies.—Ganz, Marie, and Nat J. Ferber. Rebels. Dodd, Mead. $2.—Gresham, Matilda. Life of Walter Quintin Gresham. Volumes 1 and 2. Rand McNally.—Hard, William. Raymond Robins's Own Story. Harper's. $2.—Howe, M. A. DeWolfe. George von Lengerke Meyer. Dodd, Mead.—Jonescu, Take. Some Personal Impressions. Stokes. $3.—Livermore, Thomas L. Days and Events 1860-1866. Houghton Mifflin. $6.—Taylor, Hugh. Origin of Government. Longmans, Green. $4.—Speeches from Thucydides. Selected from Jowett's Translation by Gilbert Murray. Clarendon Press.—Ward, Sir A. W. Shakespeare and the Makers of Virginia. Oxford University Press.—Webster, Nesta H. The French Revolution: A Study in Democracy. Dutton. $8.

POETRY AND DRAMA

Balderston, John Lloyd. The Genius of the Marne. Nicholas L. Brown. $1.20.—Bennett, Arnold. Sacred and Profane Love. Doran.—Lindsay, Vachel. The Golden Whales of California. Macmillan. $1.75.—Przybyszewski, Stanislaw. Snow. Nicholas L. Brown. $1.50.—Underwood, Edna Worthley. Moons of Nippon. Translations from Poets of Old Japan. Ralph Fletcher Seymour.

Buck, Howard. The Tempering. Yale University Press.—Furness, Horace Howard (editor). A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: The Life and Death of King John. Lippincott. $6.—Guiterman, Arthur. Ballads of Old New York. Harper's. $1.50.—Hunt, Edwin Arthur. Santa Barbara Days. California: Kalamazoo Loose Leaf Binder Co.

MISCELLANEOUS

Tweedale, Violet. Ghosts I Have Seen. Stokes.

Garrick Theatre, 35th St., near B'way, N. Y. Evs 8.30 Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2.30

The Theatre Guild's
4th Production This Season
Now Playing
"JANE CLEGG"
By ST. JOHN ERVINE
Author of "JOHN FERGUSON" which will be revived later
WATCH

Workers' Defense Conference of New England

Over 400 men and women were arrested and taken to Deer Island in the recent raids.
$200,000 in Liberty Bonds has been placed as bail.
$200,000 more is needed to bail 110, as many are held for $10,000 and $5,000.
Money is needed for defense.
Money is needed to aid the families of those being held.
They are making this sacrifice for you. What are you willing to do for them?

GIVE

Make checks payable to The Workers' Defense Conference of New England and send to Box 62, Essex St. P. O., Boston 10, Mass.

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Walter N. Polakov, consulting engineer, writing on **Organized Sabotage,** makes the sensational charge that the **Steel Magnates waste** over **$300,000,000** yearly that might go to cut the price of steel, or raise the workers' wages, because the steel industry is run **for profits, not public service.** Vital figures and charts. See the March issue of

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Other Important Articles

HENRI BARBUSSE - - - - - "The Rôle of the Intellectual"
ARTHUR GLEASON - - - - - "Sidney Webb and British Labor"
HIRAM K. MODERWELL - - - "The Passing of the Second International"
ISAAC J. SHERMAN - - - - - "The Russian Co-operatives"
BIRD STAIR - - - - - - - - "The Teachers' Union"
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